

JINNAH of PAKISTAN

Stanley Wolpert

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for Dorothy south love

Preface

Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three, Hailed as "Great Leader" (land-i-Azam) of Pakistan and its first governor-general, Jinnah virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of his indomitable will. It place of primacy in Pakistan's history looms like a lofty minaret over the achievements of all his contemporaries in the Muslim League, Yet Jinnah began his political career as a leader of India's National Congress and mid after World War I remained India's best "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." As enigmatic a figure as Mahatma Gandhi, more powerful than Pandii Nehru, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah was one of recent history's most thatematic leaders and least known personalities. For more than a quarter antory I have been intrigued by the apparent paradox of Jinnah's strange show whitch has to date never been told in all the fascinating complexity of the Indiant light and tragic darkness.

Many people have helped make this book possible. To the late Lord Louis translatter I am indebted for his having so generously given me a morning to the last year of his life to recall personal meetings with and impression of Jisanh. To Begum Liaquat Ali Khan I am equally indebted for her moriou hospitality and assistance in Karachi, Professor Z. H. Zaidi of Londan University most warmly encouraged me to write this book more than a made ago and helped in many ways, he shared his Jimah letters with me, and his own engent articles, and introduced me to his old friend and one of Jimah closest colleagues. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, who was still living in London them. Vice-Charscellar Sir Cyril Henry Philips of London Universa, birably assisted use during the oarly stages of my long scarch for Jimah.

My dear friend, the late Professor B. N. Pandey of London, belped by inviting me to participate in his "Leadership in South Asia" seminar in 1974. Warmest thanks to my mentor, Professor Holden Furber, for inspiration and generous criticism.

Professor Sharif al Mujahid, the director of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy in Karachi, was most generous in assisting me during my visit to Pakistan in 1990 as a Fellow of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies. I thank him and AIPS Director Professor Hafeez Malik for all of their invaluable help. I gratefully acknowledge the aid provided by the AIPS and its board in awarding me a fellowship to complete my research in Pakistan. My sincere thanks also to Dr. Churles Boewe, Mr. Arshad, Mr. Afaqi, and Akbar, of the United States Educational Foundation in Islamabad for their kind hospitality.

Dr. A. Z. Sheikh, the director of the National Archives of Pakistan, and his fine staff were most cooperative in opening the full resources of their archives to me during my visit to Islamabad. I am especially grateful to Mr. S. M. Ikram, the microfilming and photostating officer of the NAP, for expediting the filming of Jinnah papers for me. Vice-President Khalid Shamsul Hasan of the National Bank of Pakistan in Karachi was most helpful in granting me full and immediate access in his office and home to the excellent Shamsul Hasan Collection of primary Jinnah papers. I am deeply grateful to him, and to Dr. M. H. Siddiqi, the director of the University of Karachi's Freedom Movement archives, who introduced me to his very impressive collection.

My continuing gratitude and appreciation to the librarian and staff of the excellent India Office Library in London, with special thanks to Deputy Archivist Martin Moir and to Dr. Richard Bingle, both of whom were singularly helpful in steering me toward new material. For this book I have interviewed a great number of Jinnah's colleagues and contemporaries in Pakistan, India, and Great Britain, as well as in the United States, over the past fifteen years; and although there is not space to mention each by name, I wish to thank them all for helping me to better understand this singularly secretive and complex man.

To the Rt. Hon. S. S. Firzada, the minister of law of Pakistun and chairman of the Quaid-i-Azam Biography Committee, my sincere thanks for sharing with me his personal memories and writings on the Quaid-i-Azam. To Admiral S. M. Ahaan I am most warmly indebted for historic insights and generous hospitality. My grateful appreciation also to Mian Mumtax Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayot, Justice Javid Ighal, Brig. N. A. Husain, former Chief Minister of Stud Mumtax Ali Bhutto, former Karachi Mayor Hushim Baza, and former Ambassador Mohammad Masson, for many helpful mights concerning formatic personsitis.

To Lady Dhanavati Rama Rao, Srimati Pupal Jayakar, and Srimati Sheela Rabia I am deeply indebted for singularly sensitive keys to the character not only of Jinnah, but of his wife and daughter as well. I thank Ved Mehta the charting with me his father's memory of Jinnah. I am most thankful to Professor Fazlur flahman for recalling all that he did about Jinnah, and to Indianor Khalid Bin Sayeed for his help. Many colleagues and students if the University of California have helped me stay the course in this long mith, and I especially thank Professors Damodar Sur Desai, Nikki Keddie, John & Calibraith, H. Archur Steiner, Steven Hay, Peter Lowwenberg, and tomat Poonawala. For the past decade and a half, my seminar students have posed useful questions about Jinnah, each stimulating deeper investition into his life and motivations; and for this I especially thank Ravi alia, Joan Cole, Roger Long, Anand Mavalankar, David Kessler, Susha Jana Nestr Khau, Rajan Samtani, and Professor Saleem Ahmad.

I spoke many times by phone with Jinnah's only daughter, Mrs. Dina Walta In 1080 I was to have interviewed her at her Madison Avenue mortiment in Manhattan, but unfortunately, purhaps because of her acute abytem or illness, the meeting was canceled at the last moment. One questhen she asked in a conversation has often echoed in my memory as illustrathe of their relationship, "Why so much interest in my father's life, after all three years?" Mrs. Wadia's only son, Nusli, was unavailable to meet with me to Bumbay, both in 1978 and in 1982, but he did write: "My grandfaither died when I was four. . . . My memory of him is vague indeed." multi lather was equally clusive, writing from Switzerland in 1962 to in-1-101 me that "As Mr. Jinnah disapproved of my marriage to his daughter stylious grounds [Wadia was born a Parsi and converted to Christianth I. I saw very little of him & therefore regret I cannot help. . . . My Singlifer was too young to remember him & saw little of him so there would In motive in contacting her." In 1980, Januah's last surviving sister was bedsubbee to Karachi; I was unable to see her, and she died shortly after my emil (liggi)

I thank my editor, Nancy Lane, and my copy editor, Kathy Antrim, for thest ledp in bringing this book to press, and I thank Kate Wittenberg as all To Pays Fauman, who typed the manuscript, and to my friend Elaine tilles who so kitsdy photographed me, heartfelt thanks.

As the my dearest wife, who has aurtored, sustained, and inspired me and an works throughout the past thirty years. I confess that no good thing I have ever done or written would have been possible without her nomborthin.

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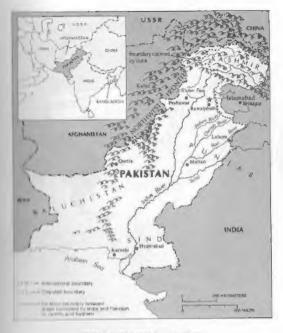
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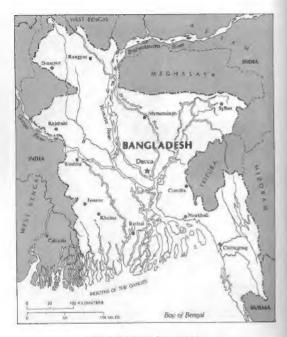
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WEST PAKISTAN from 1947-71



EAST PAKISTAN from 1947-71

JINNAH OF PAKISTAN

Karachi

the oll parelters, and benchers rushing in and out of Lincoln's Inn nowal glance at the oil painting, hung since July 1965, on the stone wall the estimate to their Great Hall and Library in London. Those who do nother why on earth the gaunt, unsmiling face of "M. A. Jinnah, it and Pirst Governor-General of Pakistan" should be staring down at I till thin monocled, astrakhan-capped, the portrait's subject was, so titll to be secured to its frame attests, "born 25 December 1876 and it it is paralters 1948." Nothing more is revealed of M. A. Jinnah's history, under more attest explored his upright, unbeading spirit, as well as his public taste in clother, yet Jinnah's face is almost as enignatic and spare thought the parel the continue of the parel should guess that he was a man of few acres each themselved or defeated. But why is he there—in so honored on that ballowed wall of British jurisprodence?

the binewith stairs of stone that supported Queen Victoria and this is, entourage when she came to dedicate that Creat Hall and oakall Library in 1845 are two portraits of Englishmen who obviously do
be William Hettry Masile was baron of the Exchequer, a judge of
timinan Pleas, and a benelier, one of four officers elected to administer
the lant Land Arthur Hobbanas was legal member of the Executive
and at India's Viceora in 1875, the year Prime Minister Benjamin Distip madual Queen Victoria to add "Empress of India" to her regalia,
mainta texts flapk M. A. Jinnah's portrait, like horseguards, their untime of the American Cheen also seem appropriate to the acting, for
first Maconghien, who was "Lord of Appenl in Ordinary" and not
a toulous trasaurer, while the other immortalizes for Francis Henry

Goldsmit, "First Jewish Barrister," bencher and member of Parliament, Jinnah, however, held no office at Lincoln's Inn, nor was he ever elected to Parliament or appointed to preside over any British court, nor did he even serve on the cabinet of a single British vicerty.

Yet the story of Jinnah's unique schievement was so inextricably the product of his genius as a barrister, perhaps the greatest "native" advocate in British Indian history, that his portrait richly deserves the place of high honor it holds. During the last decade of his life, in fact, Jinnah may have been the shrewdest barrister in the British Empire. He was certainly the most tenacious. He crossed swords with at least as many great British-born as Indian barristers, defeating them all in his single-minded pleas for Pakistan. He burned out his life pressing a single suit, yet by winning his case he changed the map of South Asia and altered the course of world history.

Jinnah (in Arabic, "wing" as of a bird or army) was born a Shi'ite Muslim Khoja (Khwaja, "noble"). Disciples of the Isma'ili1 Aga Khan, thousands of Khojas fled Persian persecution to Western India, among other regions, hetween the tenth and sixteenth centuries. The exact date of the flight of Jinnah's ancestors is unknown, but as a minority community within Islam, itself a religious minority in India, the Khojas of South Asia remained doubly conscious of their separateness and cultural difference, helping perhaps to account for the "aloofness" so often noted as a characteristic quality of Jinnah and his family. Khojas, like other mercantile communities the world over, however, traveled extensively, were quick to assimilate new ideas, and adjusted with relative ease to strange environments. They developed linguistic skills and sharp intelligence, often acquiring considerable wealth. Mahatma Gandhi's Hindu merchant (bania) family, by remarkable coincidence, settled barely thirty miles to the north of Jinnah's grandparents, in the state of Rajkot. Thus the parents of the Fathers of both India and Pakistan shared a single mother tongue, Gujarati, though that never helped their brilliant offspring to communicate.

Jinnah's father Jinnahbhai Poonja (born c. 1850), the youngest of three sons, married Mithibai, "a good girl" of his own community," and soon moved with his bride to Sind's growing port of Karachi to seek his fortune. After completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, Karachi enjoyed its first modern boom as British India's closest port, only 5,918 nautical miles from Southampton, two hundred miles nearer than Bombay. The population was as yet under 80,000, a far cry from the more than 5 million who tahabit that premier city of Takistan today, but enterprising young people, like Jinnahbhai and Mithibai, locked to its municipality's commercial heart, milasting along

both banks of the Lyaree River. There Jinnahbhai rented the second floor apartment of a three-story house, Wazir Mansion (since rebuilt and made toto a national monument and museum), in the bustling cotton mart on Newmham Road still cluttered with camels and laden with bales of raw within

Here sometime in the 1870's Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the first of seven hildren born to Mithibai and her husband. Certificates of birth and death term not issued by Karachi's municipality prior to 1879, and though Jinnah in later life would claim December 25, 1876, as his true date of birth, the licitistay officially celebrated throughout Pakistan, there is reason to doubt its accuracy. Unlike Hindus of comparable wealth and social status, who must have been careful to record the precise date and moment of a child's birth for astrological purposes, Muslims generally did not concern themselves with hirthdates and no records were kept prior to their enrollment in quiblic school. The register preserved at the first such school Jinnah attended, the Sind Madressa-tul-Islam of Karachi, notes October 20, 1875, as the butth date of "Mahomedall jinnahbhai."

At birth, in fact, "Mamad" (his pet name at home) was "small and weak his devoted sister Fatima (July 31, 1893-July 9, 1967) recalled, "His hadth caused concern as he weighed a few pounds less than normal." Manual was approximately six when his father hired a private tutor to start his not on alphabets and mathematics, but the hoy proved "indifferent" to similies "positively loathed" arithmetic, and could not wait to go outdoors as soon as his tutor arrived. Those private lessons were one indicator of how Humahbhai Poonja's business had prospered by the early 1880's. The annual value of Karachi's trade almost doubled since he had arrived scarcely a devale earlier, climbing to above 80 million rupees, Jinnahbhai handled all metr of produce, cotton, wool, hides, oil-seeds, and grain for export, and Manufactured piece-goods, metals, and refined sugar imports into the busy port. Business was so good, in fact, with profits soaring so high, that he became a "banker and money-lender" as well for his customers. Hapite Islam's prohibition against lending or borrowing money at interest, banking was clearly how Jinnahbhai made his fortune, and subsequently hors to

thatly in 1887, Jimnalishal's only sister, Manbai, who had married an even sume successful Khoja named Peerbhai and lived in metropolitan Bombay, much vialt. Mannal laved Aunite's witty, vivacious, cosmopolitan good human, and also is turn adured her bright, handsome young nephow. 'Night store night,' Fatting remembered, Manbai told them "wonderful tales of title and the flying carpet, of fine and dragons." She hared Mannal back to the many with her that year, introducing lain to the great city that was to

become his chosen home most of as add title Liven as provincial Karachi's commercia houses clung in those days to Bombay as the aviolating to the oak "6 Jamah to lower as Aunt Manhay who must have symbol and for him the hearty gamor and comess businesson. I had presidence capital.

antile is known of Mimad's bit in But have carring his first tental zingly brief visit to the bog it is as an artistanced culturally from karachi as the infer visit from Panel strange. He is ved with A interior was around panel strange and subject by the whole it was at the Muslim Apparatural Scame of hat one recalled in its his secretary Mr. M. Il Sayvich resorted, row in success in techniques he attended both solvools, joining the latter after quitting the former.

Young I make toperance or for in ecception was never high. Sitting at home learning tungs by rot was one enough to some hard to enough His spirited was a brain repelling to be it and lindean primar school these on Especial e flowbar Incas most heart for soit was adorned with present remains of the re- send topped I, later pulsandes spinning royal a ns. The is a ly daru sparking waters of Back Has wire dotted A la sugar of sands to smoon s to the manage the Crawford Mirket the dimension of serviced parts worth rome dior copla all for sale Re as he Mean and On the big must led the innverses he must be gipt than at the Victoria god comments to all that the Brist to and smort rize in its gli of Know I presstop to the soil If tow rad il manual bank and har ar it cours res building were destables social in the name carries to real of arranged for her oning visitors de ght en the rite mans had be restrated a karach for another against perfore visiting Bor his amount of the very here been personally simply a business that there toutstern a test with where of the boom and province is distances of an admonated company. But having some Borr as he would use orce I and hough he went hack to Karachi after lit e lore than six months, I was haruly out of boredon with his new envizosment

His auther rating noted had beer mistrable without her "darling son. Manual curol of in the bird Madressa on December 23, 557 but a few reast after his name was withdrawn from the roster because of Tlong absence. If compayed riding his father's Arabian horses more the dome arithmetic, and he cut classes regularly with his friend, Karim Kassim, to gallop off on "account across Soul's harron and Manual med horses as he did "minarets and domes," He liked reading poortry, too, but at his own parce and learner, not himsessed in any Karaelit predogogue's lesson plant, man was never in midated by authority, nor was he casy to control even in a critical form and him to karaelits evaduation Christian Missiona High

time of the stayed only a few to have a stayed only a few to more congenial stimulus for his restless mind. He stayed only a few to make a managerhaps the legac of that Mission school was to shut that his interest in and attraction to the importance of December 25.

I white as was good enough for aniabhliai Poolga to my is own see al handsome armages." His firm was closely assembled is a britil managing gines o karachi Dorglas Graham and have the er alle gh Croft Grahama general manager has have I e . san has baro etca & Frederick's onlycyce on Juniah's into a significant that it is inforting so little is known of him A "kinkwamun" remembered Croft, thirty-two at the time, as a the entergora dand with a real packed armation in his the new year time and a with about for able of the presence of shildren, whom he did not like." And a decade later this thumbhall de-, a satisfic for his ownered price or though extent of I be a le Jegl Cramberlay Se prefer & Arrowsh I ked there is a sign discontent to the architect ong the service programme other thank on 192 That single the sale of the property of the art of security into the orbit) (I to produce the action of the section of the contract of ar ca a Kately aved a a bette landing pad that a form is would have been space thope were him-I (If not thousands) of young men in Bombay at least as well conno chi a o line a lic whose grees doubtless ned to macure men like Croft there to do as much for their sons. Karachi, however had and, one fringle

When his unifier learned of her favorite child's latest travel plans, she cated our litterly against the trip. Bombay with Auntie had been far enough, and much too long a separation. Now London't Alone and for two years at feart? In less it was out of the question, impossible, and intolerable—perhaps intoition told her she would nover see him again. Her tears, imprecations and arguments continued for weeks, but jurnah had made up his mind. His modifier could not change it. Finally, "after much persuasion" abe surjoined constituting on one condition. "England," she said, "was a dangious country to send an unmarried and handsome young man also her such tripled, girl anglit her him ato marriage and that would be a facilitate to the Januah Poopja family." He protested at first, yet saw how it means to bee and finally "behaved lik, an idedent son," eccepting

bee arranged marriage as the price of his passage to Englance. His mother

- and a suitable labour got in Pubelt village, to interevent-old fine inc. a

good garl," as she hersetf had been. The matchmakers and parents decided everything tor Janah and his bride, even as young Gandhus parents had done a few years before the way countless other teenage Indian couples were married in the nineteenth contury.

"Mohammad Al was hardly a steen and had never seen the girl he was to marry. Fatima reported of the wedding." Decked from head to foot in long flowing gursands of flowers, he walked at a process on from his grand-fathers house to the of as father in now where his fourness wear od bride. Eith Bas, sat in an expensive rinda, areas, wearing glittering ornaments, her hands spotted with henna, her face spotted with go didust and restolent with the fingurance of attar. How did young J must feel about this stranger child being the reals had no to be a which to learn much about her Onlid days after their marriage he haded not of her life never to see her again. Long before Juriah would return from London. Emibas, like his mother was deed.

In January 1893, Januah left for England "unaccompanied and unchapero sed aboard a Pacific & Orient stear show During that was a wage he was perferenced by an "e derly long should who who wok to him like his own son. g 14 you g Is mah as La 2002 address when he describarked at Marses les "Doving the next four years whenever this Englishman cause back to his native and from Ind , he would call my brother to his house and ask ham to have a rical with him and his family recounted Fahima ? Mohammad Advanded at Southam stone or tehing the hoat train to Victoria Status "Thir ing the first tow months I found a strange country and anfarming surround ings "he recain! "I all put knew a so il and the logs and winter in London upso me a great den . At Geahan's de sot at a small desk meroanden by stacks of account books he was expected to copy and balance. The agency's head office was in the Cov of London near Threadmedie Street, a short walk from historic Cauldha a the Bank of England and the old East India Con pany's or gina head charters along the Bover Thomes in Leadenhad Street Junan ke it no diary and wrote no autobiography as did Canch, and Nation with the parst have felt at once mated and depressed to find homelf in the cold, remote inspiring heart of the highes corpure into which he had been som. "I was owng and onery Far from home - Frompt for some employees at Grahams. I did not know a soul, and the minensity of London as a city we ghed heave a many solitars are But I soon got settled to bie in London, and I began to like it before long."14

Is after deposited in the circulated accounting a Brush base to afficious from a count of the first accounting a Brush base to afficient or a first account of the second of the second

hat now displays the County Council's blue and white ceramic oval showii . that the "tounder of Pakistan staven here in 1895." Now rather run-down. that brock of attached buildings must have looked quite fasmors but in 1 also day The flat is Lived in was owned by Mrs F E. Page-Drake a ordow with "an attractive daughter wito was about the same age" as Moon mad Ah and "ked m shother" Perhaps to mass me nersed the spinster I may arrived "but he was not the fibriatious type and she could not break il - aigh his reserve." She would som times arrange mixed parties in her mother's house, and among he various games she would organ se was one a such the penalty for a fault was a kiss. Mohamingad An give a counted I as all out of this a ssing game. One Christmas Eve he reen led, 'Miss La. Drake threw her across around me as I was standing under some mistlethe significance of which I did not the know and said but I must kiss we and gently that we too had mar social infest and he my etoe kiss was not me of them. She let rill go and did no both lime ognin in this manwe "Mest peerling perhaps about so innocuous are incident is why Miss a hisbould have considered it important enough to report in ceta l. Was I such a pludish sister's way of on he listing the laster's record to keep her great brother's image (mmaculate?

weath anglessed bis name in London, replacing the cumbersome Mo-... ed Alı Jinnalıbhu of Karachi with its streamlined British version, I study what he first used to crossing its hovel deak of Scotland to be the also traded in his traditional Sinds, long velous cost for smartly . a d Sax he Row state and hearth strated detachable collared shirts I the can from was perfectly and dito a speed London's fines fishions and was to rear, a model of sactorial elegance for the rest of his life. tall second in the baset soft for the 200 ode hand-tailored socts in his a bise closes to the end of his te As a harrister to prided himself on to the same silk the twice. The very strushness of his affire extruded to the tips of his toes, which were sheathed in imart two-tone leather or sucde. Few Englishmen ever developed as keen an interest in which with 11's perfect manners and affire always assured and of the A of Englands states horres, cubs and paraces. Like Anthony to I the Duke of Windsor, Jinnah became a model of fashion the world over rivaled among his South Asian contemporaries only by Mot.lal Nehru.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah did not take long to abandon the drudgery of his a mean's apprenticeship. He arrived in London in February 1893 and on April 25 of that year "petitioned" Lincoln's inn and was "granted" permission "to be recursed the Latta partion of the Prelim nary Examination." The grand and petty hires of London distributed him from his musty desk in the old city. Walking toward the spiros of Vestrinates, Jinnah sauntered

down Fieet Street past Chancery Lane and the old Temple Bar, into the spaceous fields of Lincoln's Inn. then still pared by winter's bite but having the promise of forsythm, him, and wistens. Half a century later addressing Karachi's Bar he recalled I joined I meout's Inn because there on the main ontrance, the pame of the Prophet was netuded in the list of the great lawgivers of the world. 8 It was a fascinating track of memory he played on b piselt for no such inscription exists over the main, or indeed any other enarance of I moolu's Inn nor dal 4 then. What Jamah recalled seeing, however was G + Watt's fresco in Lincoln's New Hall called "The Law Givers," depicting the Prophe with Moses Jesus and other great spiritual leaders of civil zation. A London cour gode or Inn guard must have pointed out Mu har had's visage with a earshot of young Jianah, who pass the decided then that has was the Inn he we did like must to attend For orthodon (Sanna) Muslims, of course, may l'aman depiction of the Prophet was an anathema. heresy to iconoclastic Islan Junialis message to Pakistanic young Sunni activators was not in it mount to be approximally it him could be admit to them that the hory crophets image bad ourly assured him? Subconsciously, therefore he deleted the face from mentors "inscribing" Muhammad's "name" over Lincoln s "main entrance" instead.

Young mah was fissent ted as the glamorous world of pointes that he glamorous world of pointes that he glamorous as often as possible from the visitors galerry of Westmansters However of Commons. Lord Cross's India Camera Act passed after heated debate in 1892, stummated the Birst to Indian Act passed after heated debate in 1892, stummated the Birst to Indian Act passed after heated debate in 1892, stummated the Birst to Indian affairs in London since 1888. That ict introduced albeit and rectly the elective principle is to Birst's Indian monstitution thus serving as an historic thin edge of the wedge of representative government that was soon to force open officially dominated eoung debathers through to trutish India Jinnah Innah Innah maself soon was elected as one of Bombay's representatives to Calcuttas Central Legislative Council and later served for Jecades on New Delh, s expanded assembly, where he played an important pushamentary role.

The Liberal tide that orought William Glidstone back to 40 Downing Street for a third time in 1892 also carried Bombay Parsi Dadabhar Naorog (1825-1947), into Parliament Dadabhar, who had started a fire and Loncon aud Laverpor, in 1855, was elected to the House of Commons from Central Finsbory on a Liberal time time to selected to the House of Commons from Central Finsbory on a Liberal time to selected to the House of Commons from Central Finsbory on a Liberal time to selected to the House of the house of the Narrow Majority, by his necessity in the season of the Lindan additional facts to be backed to reserve to the season of the Lindan doi: 10 liberal to 1881 in 1881

a there in Parliament to tell at least what the native view is on any in the 2 Lord Substant the obsted John prime minister, characterized the kined Dadabhar as a "black man" during the Lampaign a racist slur of a street cours buting to Pars. Dadabhars victory. The volunteer ward in a first course to the property of a negligible vote of a night button pationalist to echo through the mightest chamber of the temperature.

"If Dadabbai was black, I was darker," Jinnah told his sister. "And if that the mental by of the British politicals then we would never get a leaf from them. From that day I have seen an or compromising enemy of a leanus of colour-bar and rawal provider." Jonal steed it on the set gallery to Dada was a marker speech." I 1893 and third edil as he will be raid Old Man extol the rather of "free speech." As J. mab noted, he or was an Indian, who would exercise that agit and demand justice that controllers. "Without freedom of speech. J. that wisels understood as the account remain." Without freedom of speech. J. that wisels understood as the account them a matter standard nor on. "Thanks to Dadabbar's the greample, Jinnah entered politics as a Liberal nationalist joining."

to be batte in the study of the law in preparation for a politic of the record standards of the thoughts that passed through his limited by a property of 1893. We know only that he did deads to sit for his limited by a property of the specific of the study of the specific of the study of the specific of the specific

From if Jinradibat Poonja could have afforded the luxury, it is doubtful by a sum and contributed another reper o his sons support in London a vas "Linux" at a he leare of of Jinab's appulsive demonstration in the business corser. Not is it very likely that Sir Frederick of the cloth at Collanz and office where have fried a further fuger to help this "Sirdhi upsturt ingrate". As Jinah well knew he was on a Not Julia of the lattice would find himself irolated, cut off in so perthose a position. Still be never failered, acting with surgical swiffness to

after his career. If he had any fears or doubts about his future, he left no record of them. On June 25, 1889, he embarked upon his study of the law at Lincoln's Inn.

Luccoln's Inn had a most apposing list of graduates and dropouts, mehiding Thomas More W Iliam Pitt and baif a dozen other Br tish prime ministers from Loro Can ray to Asq. th Two of Britain's greatest prime ministers, Disrae and Coadstone want there but neither completed his course of study In 1893 when J mal enrolled john Morley (1838-1923) who first entired Latitorias premises thirty our years earlier was elected a bencher As ther of On Compressive John Stuars Mal's greatest disciple Gladstone's arish Home Rule seer tary and Laberal heatenant "Honest John" dater Lord. Moriey ten had the most enportant had decade as secretary of state for I wild 1900-10 still ahead or hun. One of Britain's most brilliant Labcrus Merley secune one of Jinnah's haroes. The a compromising idealistic fervor or On Campromise west through Januah's or nd like a flame in uiting his magnution with arguments such as that which insisted upon pine og 'teach' first among my choice of "principles" Jinnah qi ited Morley to smeant as cases later in life, and he personally fried to othere in the Laberal ideals early imbibed from Lincoln's great heacher.

M. A. Jinnah's egal or cotton was with monor mod feation, the medieval gar J apprentices to praethood laure and with the founding or Lincoln's Irm which was mined for the King's Sergeant of Holory. Thomas de Lin com in the latter half of the fourteenth certary flewords of that self-governing society's council rivel age and mainess affairs have been preserved at tar lists library in annual Black Books' since 1422 when the students all still I visil within he land somber walls. After the encoded number of students became too great to accommodate us do the hostel tradition was only sympolically retuined through the requirement that all students enrolled at a university eat a minimum of three carners in the Creat Hall or those not curolled, as no amaks case estax. The conegoal environment of those dimhers where burristers and beautiers sat close unnight to students to engage them in conversal in argument or debate was decined an important aspect of legal training. For how better could young men sharper their wits and develop forensic skills, after all, than in debate with their gold elders? The convivinits of table talk was moreover a shortcut to friendship or an brathy and fla vount, apprentice was alert as well as was the soon learned what was best said or left areard in the company of lawyers.

The Great Hall was used not only for dining, however, since "moots" am "bolts" were as held her tarrend of the latter. The most unportant tions in the former, students following stat in the latter. The most unportant

ent in Jinnah's legal education, however, was the two years of "reading" questionship he spent in a barrister's chambers. He would follow his master addressional Jooststeps outside chambers as well, through all the corr

I was not in chambers or dining in Great Hall, I much passed and I struct in London strolling or studing up the book-lined Reading it the British Museum, a Meeca for scholars the world over On Santo the 1 that haven closed, he went at times to Hyde Park corner at the ... a title o listen to the open-air pratory of anyone who had a box to . . . and he courage to speak his mind on any subject Trish Home 11 sit of Webb, whom much had heard from Westminster's gallery, to all to preside over the Madras Congress in 1894. I hate tyranny wherever practised more especially if practised by my own mer for her I am n'a measure responsible. Webb said to his the "arish question" was resolved, are to A as a set d. Inc., also the rest of the British Empire would If the I have the sparaly sed with the affairs of under five milde note me strices rise and tall on the question of Ireland rather " vices a sted during those early ionely years in London, of - catt nort can be seef at demands could "paralyze" a byge emthat I the appropriate all the weaknesses as well as strengths of control of Whatlar or in the ever rose the requisite min mal height to a not son at Hode Park orner to haver que any London audiand to lear to may useful debating tricks merely by listening Here stal engaging speakers in argument

** I story weekend was spent in London, however. He went at least once ... I that it is later recaining that his birst "friction with the police". I during the annual Oxbridge boat race, when "I was with two d we were caught up with a crowd of undergraduates. We found a safe that a safe arrest, so we pushed each other up and down the roadway.

We were arrested and taken off to the police station ... [and] let off

we were arrested and taken all to the police station . . . [and] let off to a contion." It was the closest this remarkably law-abiding Indian

remaining in London.

EANACEE

15

would ever come to being placed behind hars, another polar difference that separated him from Gandhe Nehru, and most other nationalist leaders who spent years in British prison cells.

Young Jamah ted in love with theater while higher a London. His secret ambition he ager contressed was "to plat the role of Romers at the Old vice" a Exactly when he started to cream of an acting career is unclear though it was obviously after he had begun to star law. Perhaps law borred him a first or think have been watching the performances of harmsters, the greatest of whom were often spell building thespians, that is non-acted his the greatest of whom were often spell building thespians, that is more additional terrestia good or stage of an invent it was one even in or passing fance but a love affer that lasted to the one of his years. "Even in the days of his roost acts, it is that in term is seed, when he retrieved home tired and it, he was defined and started in senses." resonant. The object this monor we come act his tragger cour root, and later and those who we ressend I is drawn a other regardors and in cross such shelter to judge or its often commerted had acting when he was most serious.

O, une 7, \$95. Junah weete a check for \$158.19 = covering all fees for 1 associate he flar He had growed by chafters better out in glain to "come hante" to not be terreted after to specifie or of that one. He was obasige on \$2.40 a month for his rome and half board at 1 a home of Mis Page Drake and would aways be very careful with conner. The habits of rights, re-developer in those ear. London years never act her the even manages it was \$2.10 in the such his latter had in half three doors to him, after three years of yeight at the heart of what was then surely the most truphing marke place on earth Sell in dreament of a high in art, and of

"After I was called to the Bar — was taken by some friends to the Manager of a theatrical con pany who asked he to go up to the stage and rear of pieces of Shakespear." Junah remir seed. "I did so. His wide and he were minensely pieceed and immediate in othered me a job. I was cultant and I wrote to my parents or aven, for their biessings. I wrote to them that I was a largering profession where success was incertain a stage carest was much better and it give me a good dant and that I would now be in dependent and not bother them with graits of maner at the Miller whose in a long, other to at angly stagens of me in all out that was one sentence in his letter that touched me most and which influenced a change in my occusion, "Do not be a livialer to the family," I went to my employers and conveyed to them that I no langer looked forward to a stage success.

the were surprised, and ther tried to persuade ne, but my nind was made up According to the terms of the contract I had signed with them. I was to have given them three months notice before quitting. But you know, they were baghishmen, and so they said. Well when you have no interest in the stage why should we keep you, against your wishes?" "80

Mischard Mahoued A. Jindia. Dequire a Barrister of tids Sopert and the brachers of I needly in for "certificate" attesting V seen that to the Bar and at his deportment. "Which that alliance is I we occur to join the Bar of all nor it in British holds. Now his of I tigo hope but not to barried. There was nothing left. Karacht in I want I for an more Schofer leaving Lond in the name to be a last. National Bank of India, Lid. Bombar. That was done on S60. Not have be of the gangwar of the I & O lines that I Kurch while he not my more than a oriel stop or mate to the out to choose a bis now permanent home, His father had lined him from I are to be a last to safely as content but nothing short of the partition of I diving him has k to ave in Karach—and then only briefly, to freeful a new mation, before dying.

2

Bombay (1896-1910)

Jinush was enrolled as a harrister in Bombav's high court on August 24. 1898, procisely are decade after the karach country boy was first driven past that Victorian punce of law Herch's variegated London experiences, ten pered by the training of his brief return hone had made a man of him. He was nereft of nother and wife his most powerful tes to Karachi had been cut with surgical finants. M. A. Lonah, Esq. borne out of the hinter disappronument and pain that throuded his leaf few months, was launched line orbit on his own.

For Bombay as for Jinnah personally it was a time of tragedy and mourning Judionic plague from China reached that buss port in the autumn of 1898. The Black Dear is that claimed millions of Indian lives in the ensuing decades remained most severe in the crowded, bustling cities of Bombay, Poona, and Ahmedabac, at least until the ingenius Dr. W. M. Haffking 1860-1830, developed his vaccane in 1899. Jinnaha preoccupation with clear mess serubbing his hands man, times daily at amost observed, eight seems to date from this pre-Haffking era when the only known "antidotes" to the Hack Death were soap, water and whitewash. His life ong obsession with clear meticulous dress as well as persona hygiene and privacy some rather more sensible than surprising given the hand heat and health haz ands prevalent in Bombay especially at this time, annah rented a reasonable room in the Apolle Ra lway. Hotel on Charu R and within wasking of struce of the lugh count where he if existing the advocacy of others and awaiting his first client.

Vete Is mad up a knew of the vessag barrater's first caree years in another to 1000 moves to any local and processor as the local control of the second to t

ing idvocate-genera. John Molesworth MacPherson. The latter took imon as liking to young Januh and avited him to work in his office. It was the test such invitation MacPherson "ever extended to an Indian," Sarojini. 1) 1879-19491 one of Januah's most devoted friends, recalled Mac-Characters confidence and support came "as a beacon of hope" at a low point and a carly struggles to establish himself. Auntie Manhai Peerbhoy, her be and and their circle of friends, assisted him socially of course," and be a come through Luccoln's lan gave har the proper credentials but "In I is you did for I much's legal career what Croft had done for his life. and it travelle bondrum realize of facus competition to a more usu ted power and possibility. In MacPheison's chambers Junch had of ormation long before it reached the ears of penur his pleaders , at ten the agh dim corridors of he pourt. With it, a few meeths of going MacPherson he learned for example that one of Bomb , s four . . . s a renerval judgeship was about to fall vacant. His response · stron of this valuable news offers a gat ipse of young Jamah in on Caing torogh the window and smoking a cigate of la the many and soffice | who saw it "Victoria can slow y passing by " . I would must 'jumped into it and drove straight to the offer of Sir his I want " he Charles was then jud out member of the provincial at f Brobay and Joand MacFrorson's handsome a abittous young at a some message that he laced him to serve as "temporary" third presi-

the second secon

The slaws of the Edwardian era, coinciding with that of the twentieth

() send finals finally established in his chosen career, earning

I name to sent a "new office" the "spaced no expense" to furnish that

and attractive chamber," his stater recalled, in a manner which "any

lawyer would have been proud to call his own." Jamahbhar Poonja's hea th had declined with his business fortune and so the old man moved with his remaining children to Bombay, renting a small house in the Khoja d street of Kharak Jinnah appears not to have seen much of his father in this interide, however aid Ly 1904 Jimpahbha moved off to Bombos's Rabasga coast, where he spent his final years in quiet retirement. The only sittle with whom Jimah established a cost, country up to a jouship was Fat who carrolled as a boarding student in Bombay's Bondra Convent School thanks to her brother's manifecent support. Al ssion schools were still the best primary and secondary enters at education in India at this time and because of her excellent early education Fatima was able to gain ad some to the highly competitive University of Calcurta, where she after dea, the Dental School, it nativisited his adoring sister on Sundays, taxing her fi carriage rices around Bo da which she learned to love as much as he brot ser. Almost is tall ind from as an Eutoma's apply trance was an arrest or reals a of her brothers, the mable brow as high the chark homes as to me not to true luminous even as wide and proping, and the hair metally as warm and raven black, would later become just as coldly white

The tight religion never play don't reportant rule, a Judiah's life except for its political a grafitance he left the Aga Khaisa "Sevener his were mounts at the stage of a maturation, opting instead to judiah less his effectives from the less has a maturation of the less than the least of the less has been as a second of the less has a maturation of the less has a maturation of the less has been as a second of the less has been as a second of the less has a maturation of other rules and creeks for the common branch of all the second not work should be should be sufficient to the large of other rules and creeks for the common branch of all the second not work the common branch of the rules and creeks for the common branch of all the second not work and a maturation of the rules and chars are not of whom took the restriction of the rules and chars are not of whom took the rules access religious as and only as their faith in British law and Indian nationalism.

Most of the leaders of the one-fourth of British India's population to adhered to Islam, however were critice orthogon. So not form on it who continued to look to the Queran and prophetic practices as their assurces of appropriate daily behavior, or modernist disciples of Sir Sin.

Ahmad K no. 281° 98. We will be a good the first in second rection of a single tanked bolian notional movement as vigorously an identical Islamic orthodoxy's infallishity. In 1878, a decade before the figure.

Antiqued Congress was founded for Sayyal started his potent Mish. meadon.

al College at Aligarh, some tixty miles southeast of Delhi to the Oxbridge residential and tutorial collegiate system, Aligarh tion of wealthy young Muslim males of British India Western philosophy, and the dual virtue of loyalty to the British raj as Islam Aligaria cricket fields and commons rooms served as breedfor the Moslan League Sir Sayyid himself, snighted in 1870. noture life to service in the British Empire. Appointed by the Imperial Legislative Council Sir Sayyid argued from that them or 1853 against "the introduction of the principle of elecsample" into the body politic of "a country like India, where atill llourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, Antius from are still violent "A decade later by denounced edgects" of Congress as "based upon ignorance of history and they do not take into consideration that India is ind at mationalities, they presuppose that the Muslims like the the Bealmin the Kshatriyas . . can all be treated alike, and to the same notion." That was the earliest modern articutwo nation theory which was to become the ideological basis

a at Bumbuy remained as remote from such feelings, as much reasoning, as he had been in London in 1893, when speke of Hudos and Muslims as "different nationalities." al this time was the law though his singular success as an annelsted to his noting talent. "He was what God made wer of Bombay's high court put it, "a great pleader He be could are around curners. That is where his talents a sess clear thinker . But he drave his points homejuliate erlection, slow delivery, word by word "to Annated. When he stood up in Court, slowly looking tople ong his unnoutle in his eye- with the sense of timing home an actor he became omnipotent. Yes, that is the Josekho Alva said he "east a spell on the court-room on added by the worst circumstances. He has been our timoba most famous legal apprendice, M. C. Chagla, Medic appeared chief justice of Bombay's high court, releaders presentation of a case" was nothing less than "a

• home even used Dadabini Naoroji and another bribnches Park community, Sir Pherozenhab Mehta (1845kunbers he worked for some time during this early internel over the 4 anginess in 1805 and areased the rule of all minorities in India's nation-building process. To my mind, a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hundu is a better and truer Mahomedan or Hindu, the source he is attached to the land which gave him birth, Sir Pherozesha i maisted "Is it possible to imagine that Dadabha: Naoror for instance, true Para that he is, is anything but an Indian? . . . Can any one donot if I may be allowed to take another all stration, that Sir Sved Alimed Khan was greater in disobler when he was devoling the great energies and truents with which he is endowed , for the benefit of all Indians in general than when as of site he was preaching a gospe of selfishness and so attom " Meht; was loo as first Pars, barrister cailed to the Bar from Lincoln's Indian 1868, and served as a mention of Bombay's Murecord Corporat a for firth six years four times in its chair Flequet inpersons, a ferree advocate haded as 'Un rowned King of Bombas' Sir Perozes al was more the Bombay model to | pah's early carres than Dadatha. It 1890 he labeled he "s prinsed thanks between Honday and Mixing others here there a conver entitleens to distract attention and to defor the day of reform."16 Young Juneah felt much the same way

The first annial session of congress after leady I wish was its twentiethheld under canvas on Bombay's Oval in December 1904. Sir Pherozes alcared he ecuston to amorter his welcoming "ramarks" taking longer than Sir Hone. Cotton's extre preside that cadress adicative of their retive purpose with a the Longress as well as the cahelor cal sives Respond raig to Viceros Lord Catator's patron roug advice. "I do not trink that the salvation of linda is to be sneight in the head of politics. Mehta asked "How and those aspirations and everes he even grad alls achieved unless we are allowed to play at all times a movest and tennic att part to, the field of politics? I have a not through the cabious above of British Indias "secret and are spons for threateness, are no Milbton agreeing with Walter Bank. hot that all bureaucracy tended to "under-government in point of quality" and over give mineral in point of quantity." Mehta proposed that two of his trusted disciples from Bombay be sent as Congress deputies to Lundon the following year to lobby what he and other well-informed observers of Britain's postical climate correctly anticipated would be the new Liberal government in Westmoster and Whitehall his choices for so important a task were Gopal Krishna Grichage 1856-1915 and V. A. arrich Mahama "Great-Souled") Gokhale, who was to preside over the next session of Congress, seemed an obvious choice to everyone, but Junuali was still maknown to most Congress delegates, and enough questions were raised to hold up release of any funds for his passage.17 He thid, however, sail to England with Coxlane eight years later, when both were appointed to the same coyal. this on The 1964 Congress was Hough's first meeting with Gakhale, whose

tests, and moderation be came to admire so that he soon stated to all non-in politics was to become the Mushin Cokhale."

Insules involvement in Congress politics was as integral a by-product of a state of an action and social fe in Bo, has as he can be committed to the common to the last of the common to the

Curson's half decade of viceregal rule was the partition of Ben-

I Conce over 55 million Bengal was certainly "unwieldy to to the award on through the derigal spraking a wing province dividing its preductionally Hindu 1 se the W. of Frage the mast v morer Master Bengal d Cont. Van Musins onto anymer Envery Bengal . deel a band a day or Darea West Bengal automatered the state of a Harda major to part contained so calling the same of the hat a no longer had then gue speaking . H majority Calcutta's Bengali Ilindu olito, who had been Curzon's critics stace 1903, viewed this partition of their "motherland" as its afe at impera with a vengeance. The half decade of violent antitas rowled bassars and partow . It was process and he cott agranst British goods across . 15 a a h. M. le s and I above M Lions of Indians a heat of partied by anyway publicated by the meassioned three Bry Is see I come jes who left 4 a to . el. as gh Encusa's streets singear's new anthem "Bande Matarum" ("Hail To Thee, Mother") le kembert (lata beld log).

the points at impact of its explosive aftershock was to change his life and is altered the map of India As a Congress moderate, friend, and be must have agreed, however, with President Cokado's character of partitions as "a crued wrong, a consider ill attrition of the

worst features of the present system of bureaucrata rule—its utter contempt for public opinion its arrogant protentions to superior wisdom its recilies disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people. **10 As a Bombas Muslim, however Jimaah was perhaps most remote among all salaeles of Indian nationaists from the feelings of outrage and betraval shared his to many Benga i His dus. He will indestrood of course how shrewd a British political mose this was, wearing Bengal. Misless from dependence on Calcutta's landlord and raones a iding as well as possible find in advisible, exalting seeps in he Dacca or equal provisional states with Calcutta Bombay, and Madria. That first partition signified Muslim political consciousness throughout the subcontinent providing a provincial cradie in Dacca for the birth of the Muslim League in 1906.

Curzon's successor. Lord by all 1845-1914, was also a Tory entremelled in Calcular short in the British general elections the would depose his partition, power in London for the first decade. Paradoxically, British Indians Linear secretary of state John Mories continued as much as Mario dal to dividing the especial form 1906 to 1910 by promising for the noblest of a mains to fartific paradoxical reforms constitutional reforms soon after in the Whitehalas helm Michael Cambridge and expand the mass of section representative popular government them given to dividing the date of the seeds of reagious partition in the heart of British India's emerging constitution.

Or October I 1908 there five Mustims of noble birth wealth, and power from every pent in. It Fritish India and several articely states gashered in the regal bederoom of the vectors 5 mls parace in the Hamathews Th. 1 and ever of Monte on and horsen at anchorated "Mr Rolls entered precisely it 1 00 a 81 the Aga Khan introduced each of his fellow depicters to the vectors and their land white read a and the address, which was jurited in vector and had ear or been sent to his secretary. J. R. Durlop Smith (1858–1921) "The address contained a warning that

The Mohamedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the winse of justice and love to fair learning that have a characterised their rulers, and have in consequence abstanced from pressing their claims by methods that night prove at all embarrassing, but earniestly as we desire that the Mohamedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time horizonted to dit in a recent event. In stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohamedans which the result is the stirred up feelings, especially pass beyond the control of temperate counsel are solver in dinner.

various of the ominous amphications of that warning were lost upon the servery or his staff.

We hope your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian at many of the root brought of morners of our community rest consider that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be increasing if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religiously and political conditions blauming in I dia, and that nother care and caution here doptions as kell among or ter to have our national interests as the incress of an ansy mathetic instorict.

he as the first age of the words "national necrests" by Indian Muslims to Bir all rulers for he pinga ast the "ansarriasheta," Hardu I in address went on to spell out Misl n iopes or turk his ions . It is not all government was as assumed "We Mo semedans are in them, many with additional rit rests of our man which are not that we want a said these have by nervo suffered from the fact has not seen an quatch represented We tierefore pray in . . we he go roush preused to provide that both is the to the bondmate and maister, sorveres of all Indian provinces and of Molar was soul a work fluid place. Charks to me thear I sported with maries of goals of Moharmer as has at the effects of Mohameau i educationists have from the very 4 to a long count umong turn here strengershy directed " a level a sent of haracter and this we versure to mak as of to character and a critical in the making of a good puber and soits for Makers were requested to be reserved on on process was a least big a rount hearthus, and manicipalities as soft so on university senates and syndicates.

the state of the praised of the prai

coming all the political machiners of the Western world amongst the he reditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races."

Finally, Minto announced that "any electoral representation in India would be user sed to ansumeous failure which a need at graching a personal enfranchisement regardless of the he els and tractions of the community's composing the usualities of this contract. The Mah modal returns 11 may risk assured that their posted rights and interests is community with the safe coursed by an administrative re-organization with which I am concerned."

The veeroy's remarks were greeted with "marriars of satisfaction" and cries of hear hear from the lele, steel de adatum. At a garden ten parts that afternoon religates assured I ad. Mate that now we fee the Aircres. a surfreed honte and Landon Smith consumered it a last or port of the s work and it was obe hith latter who tool Her Lad slup that evening but he viewer tas a hong as the the ming back of ever two interest of peops for a joint githe in he of the sed the is opposition " Calcutt a read & retional st now yap a timero Bazar Patrika reported the deputa fully one wered to interested tion and a reception or a got up flar the authorities wanted a few to willoways to don as a mater sequent a count pair ion to give their a contilecte of good conduct They know the Hard's war not as so have lague operation a mong the oloc cass s. Mussus aus "" Both assessments were exagger and though tie depetation did wit the promise of reporte currents. For Mass install major and re are in the other and to Pakistan From the moc one of that Simla of satisfion, however the Miskin Leag o would be born sefere the year's end much who had so recent a title Aga Khan's Ismaili fo d had norby to a win the Mas or agreet on or its listoric Diec aftermath

In November Salaro and Alam, the eading landowner of Dacca, whose wast homoness with market the "Nawab," noted Aligarh's Molammedan Facta around Conference to Dacca for training a confederacy" be convened in his city. The Nawab of Dacca, I address "sick" during the 5m a morting but the method to the market reception committee for the toundar, meeting at the Markim Longite, to Dacca s Shah Baga. Bot of Girecom. In December 1988. Since Parameter this suddenly emerged as the center of South Asian Muslim pouries, hosting fifty-eight Muslim delegates from every currer of the subscenting.

The Meson of the sound of the Meson of the M

oil is mainfest that if at any remote period the British Government respect to crist in India, then the rule of India would pass into the field of that community which is nearly four times as large as or remote that of that community which is nearly four times as large as or remote that the second that which be your condition if such a situation is created in India. Then, our life, our yet is a houston and our faith of I all be in great diagger. When we that a powerty the first administration is post clorger such as the first administration is post clorger to the subjects of our neighbours. It was to take most serious difficulties at safe do not know that the control the subjects of our neighbours are not the real found in the high party them on the point of the property of the subjects of our neighbours. The Assa mans case it find list or and successions the Creat Britain, and to discuss their lives and property in its protection. **

I have by conservative logalise. Most in nob-lity frank to their conto-fit tab of serial protection was treats ensuble to their conlogical first dien success the Mash in Larger energed withto-all first dien success the Mash in Larger energed withto-all first dien success the Mash in Larger energed withto-all first success to the strength regard for our own Layer of
the corr own homeir and religion, that we are impelled to be faithful
to our own prise as it is bound up with one depends

Hit was often all, regard in the autocratic service of the nizam of
tot who permitted no political agiration, tolerated no dissent

I do not heritate in declaring that unless the leaders of the Coupress innever efforts as appechiy as possible to quell the bostlifty of the seek of t

unide reading the "Muslim League." Destined to remain Muslim

impler publical organization, conseging in less than four decades as
the political rights and interests of the Muslimans of India, and to
all represent their access and appraisons to the Covernment."

The
d Dacin collect it "a turning of a corner of the course" set two detention in 3th Savyid Almud Khun when he founded his Muhammadan

onteresce.

Age Khan was elected that fanorary president of the Mail m.

League, though he d d not attend the Dacca manging, session, and later wrote it was "treakishly rome that our disaghliest opponent in 1906" was Janich, who "came out as latter nost; trowners all that I and my friends had done and were trying to do. He was the only well-known Muslim to take this attitude. He said that one principle of separate electrostes was dividing the nation against itself."

Jimah had joined fort, four other like under Muslims in neighboring Calcutta, meeting together with some , 500 had do Parso and Chishay at the 1906 an mat session of Congress Databba. Nationi provided with Jimah serving as bis secretary Old Dadabba was too weak to read the aduress hisse. That Jimah had helped water so Goldade read it for him beginning with several quotations. One from I bern Prime Minister Campine I Barrori que adhed for self government. Cand provincian could never be a subsette for government of this good the Dadabbas Gold of Jimah is tess corners, called for exploring the meeting and time him to the provincian could never branch or the services so to be polarized the "three fold within the factor of many British officers."

depriving us of weath, work and wisdom, of everything in short, worth living for . Alteration of the services from European to Indian is the keynote of the whole. . . Co-ordinately . education to store most or most

Dadabhai's speech replete with quotes from Morley, included one equiting "the sacre wore free" with "the noblest aspirations that cat any nate the breast of man. Such war, the bettings and aspirations and ing intances as a cerebrated his thereigh buthday from the partition of Indias National Congress. The speech called the Bengal partition in bad blunder for England," but one Dadabhai boped "may yet be rectiffed through "agitation." And addressing himself to the growing distance between Hindry and Musicons in the aftermath of partition, Dadabhai called for

a thorough political union among the Indian people of all creeds and classes. . . . I appeal to the Indian people for this because it is in their own hands. . They have in them the capacity energy and intellect to hish their near and to get their due share in all walks of inter-of which the State Services are but a small part State services.

therefore of as the people for heir enoughtan's an absorbit message.

They must sink or swim together Without this message her without this message.

theme of national unity was to be echoed by Jimpah at every political

1 and ded coming the curang decade it which he emerged as
1 to Ambassador of Hindu Mushar 1 to "50"

test me India poetess Sarofin Nitth at that Cakenta Congress,
and advisers need a rising lawver and a consing paintean,
and recalled his a "er le paintess". She was instantly opp1 1 stanting appearance and "rine" and complex temperament"
and has left a most assigniful portrait of young linnah.

1 and statch but this to the sount of eveneration, languid and the state of the Moham and A. Jir and a fact last differ in a destruction of a collection of the state of the s

the state of the cause of the consequence and how added to the control of a state of the consequence and how added the control of the control

teme entitud, resulutionary faction within Congress, led by Maha
• a Lokamanya ("Friend of the Prople") Hal Cangachar Tilak (1958-

1920 and Bengol's fiery Bipin Chandra Fal (1858-1932) competed, however by then with the moderate "o'd guard" for control of India's premier nationa ist organization. Though Tilak and Gokhaie both started as Poona colleagues in pub ic education and national service, they differed fundamentally in many wave especially with respect to political taches and plulosophy The Lokamanya and his "new party had no faith o Morley's processed reforms, remetting reliance on pleas or petitions" to British of ciaidom for a yel me, Bingcott was their battle on Best of British machine made cloth and other many factored as parts, later of all British astatutions Julia my schools cours and counce chambers. The other side of their econon's many of howeot, was sunderly a of our own country" stumulat mg and genous lad an moustry less less alls cuttons cloth we sen and spon both by mand and more no Ther made su growth or goal but the select e" there deman, ed was not that of British a tizens but of titully independent by diams It, see he a popular see he Tilak in roca by the mass following he wen a norg nost! Illerate prasance and other workers were drawn from the religious ocean of standing and regional lare and asually served to alternate Muslim and other manorates as it won Hindu adherents. British officials in the spot varya tried barsher technicians of repression to state this mountry epposition "Fais or the barth make" Morley called that most not of the along with in times soo. The most popular leaders were arrested and desorted tacks og a new "marter from the Estab Lata Lap at Ra 1865-1928 who became a hero as soon as he was arrested in the spen. of 1907 and so pped off o Mandalay prison. The new party immed at a proposed Lappor Ra as their car house for rest president of Congress Phorogeshan and Cokhale had their own conducte havever, the mild mannered moderate Calcutta educator Dr. Rash Behavi Ghosh

The factions of it that left Congress form apart for almost a decade expocted at the session in Surat is 100. Next to Bombas, which had so be cently hosted the Congress Surat was he strongest bastion of moderate leavership power Gojarat's center of mercantile wealth. Sir Pherioz shard to confident that he could keep the peace and control of his organization the post of Surat. It had lowever underestimated the passion and stubborniess of That and his followers has Bash Behar. Chosh moved toward the rostrum hadde the Congress panda to read his moderate laward the rostrum hadde the Congress panda to read his moderate laward the rostrum and the Congress panda to read his moderate laward the rost out. "Dunt of order life had not seed has for his number of introducing Laipa is candidately from the Congress Bosh. No me on the path was recognized" him however, yet that did not stop the Lohamanya. If his moderate himself and headed for the rostrum. Several longing young "guards" moved to intercept Tilak, but Gokhale warded them off, forming to his oid consequent defense and protectively extending his lower.

ound Tilak's body. Most of the delegates were on their feet shouting the first of Astiff Maharasatanan shipper was then tossed vigorous y onto the standard before another the second of the second of

he see of the Sana sph. resolutionars violence and official represtionalided. Prace was arrest of in the some ner of 1908, coarges, with
coal age. For a craff educates published at his popular Proma
A root. Thak represented houself before the high court in
the access of Janah to placed for his release pending that
the access of Janah to placed for his release pending that
and to me usual for British pastice had desired its
that he for his trial began. And all rough, from the argument
to the star once to as let lance as therefore and the
action and adeas up rotes of April recognizing their purry
to many lead on held for the leader of a gold for liputary
to many lead however no only stend up for Thak action and
the gratifiede as well as affectionate admiration of Hindu India's
conservative leader.

1 d or retorn's proposed by Marley and Minto menal'y to one has to elected Mass, is clear ters on the expended t a. By the time the Indian council's bill was 909 however, no fewer than six such reats were reserved on a e in whit is more than half of the 1 remainer Bit s. it are a foor sents a point at least two add time. I bers as manunces off his own but if they were not elected by t sources such as landholders or municipalities, reasing Muslim . I to twee very east on-oils. The thers on the vice-Il, que then the actual ratio of India's Muslim minority to the , of the subcontinent. By 1909 even Minto complained of of sparse for goared to Mahon, daix " Money retoried, . . I you we man extra claims that started the M . The secretary of state was by then convinced that "It the wit of man to foune plant that will please Hindus without offend-

the reparate electorate formula, which Jimuh initially rejected on
the national principle served, in fact, to raise his personal consecous
of Missilia identity. Jimuh was one of the first half dozen Musin, incre-

ners specially elected, in his case from Bombay to sit on the viceror's Centra. Legislauve Gouncal in 1910, three years before he actually outed the Muslim League At thirty-five, he was one of the votingest members elected to that high council and would have stood no chauce but for the tact that two much older stughted Muslim candidates, equally matched and anti-pathetical outed are another in preliminary slownishes to choose the "Muslim candidate." Januah's secretary recalled that "Jaccuss ons went on for hours and in the end both of them decided that none of them should seek elected out should send a tierd cane date and after careful sentitiny the choice to on the young lawyer." That's ingular honor catapi ited Junah to the side of Gokaile, whose "general" domnay sent had been held before him y Sir Pherozeishia. The highstative center of India's government first in Calcutta and Sima later in Decht soon became one of Januah's most important and powerful stages.

More, 'a retorias also attroduced Indian participation in British India's powerful executive councils, both at Whit had and in Calcutta Simila. Two I that needlers were a monted to the secretize of state's Whitehalf Councel of I idea in 1907 and the first Indian to hold the post of law member of the gover ment of India Satvend a P 5 ph. 1864-1928 took his seat in 1909 A lande brah, . hy birth, Sman was like fromth a barrister and more rate Congress lead in 110s og practice to 1908 was se lucrative that ages digitages consists as refron me it a cut in his around become of £ .0,000 5 also first medication therefore was to turn down the vicerous invicacio at a laman and Cook are convinced his to accept the job 11.5 role in its matter further a tests to J analysis from prisonal commitment to the principle of finding he and a to hest quillied for any job regardless of race religion caste or creep Mes in League leaders had lobbled for a Maxim parist to fill the powerful position in India's central government The meague's president at its 1908 American session, fixed An Imam (1869) 1933 was hiself a partister of Landor's Middle Ten, a and would suceced Sinha as as more ser after the former resigned in November 1910. establishing the precedent of alter into gift adu Mishim appointees and subsequent communal paints in all oxer tive lapor triums. Born as the League was out of the separate. Lectorate Acidem 'affirmative action' demand that organization remained most firmly committed to its to indica principle, proposing names of Muslim candidates for every important official vacancy Congress, in the other hard, always early and any to prear author tional and undemocratic, even as English liberals like John Morley did Any "religious register," after all, whether Muslim Catholic, or Calvinist, was dangerously achiversive to the gulitarian foundations of a modern secular nation. Barristor 14 tab bearered that as much my har great hencher mentor and was to use in the Allahabad Congress of 1910 to second a resolution 1 of "ctrough depreciates the expansion σ application of the principle of 1 of Communal Electorates to Municipalities, District Boards, or other 1 is 160-bes 34.

i endowcady Jimnah spoke at the end of his first year as the Calcutta

3

Calcutta (1910-15)

On Junuary 25 16.10, the Homostal e Mr. M. A Jimuah took his sent as Mas a meadure is in Be and e. The sets manages after counce convered into cape at of the performance. The edition of the council counter in the palace are Welles a successful to those three council of the earlier was earlier to be the restoric ment of the at the cape to with asymmetric actions as Viceros Minto pompously defresses. It is go can a its ready elected advisors in all sung Copa Cold are Morth a viceros in the research and the action of the gold to be these that the stopped of an enlarged Commerce with gifter of assors the fada in purior of the soundness of an measures we may deem it right to introduce."

Ma cos pious hopes were soo, so thered, Januah clashed with the viceron he very first one he rose to whom in the court, addressing to uself to a roso of an that a field for an impredicte end to the export of indentured Isdian a lore 3 to Sorth Africa. The vidence pression of Satinggrahia, "Noncooperaturs" fed by Garnal: I the Transy as had ignited technics of digitation and grief the oughout India the ear before Congress then resoured to press apor the Coveriment of India the necessit of promitting the recruitment of indeptured Indian about for any portion of the South African amon and of nealing with the author ties there in the same manner in which the latter deal a th Indian interests 2 This vitter are before Calcutta's rounted on February 25 when I must spoke on, was by "It was rost pant is may consider a settle to and dicheses to ne con riche a - aterior ad have a hopen. he hard said cruel treate ent that is meted out to Indiane to Sunth Africa " Mosto repremandes, him for using the words "cruel treatment," which the viceroy deemed "too hards to be used for a friendly part of the Empire" within his restrict chambers, "My Lord!" Jimah responded. "I should feel much in-1 the security transport language But 1 on fully aware of the constitution of this Council, and I do not wish to trespass for one single moment, that I do say that the treatment meted out to Indians is the harshest and the leeding in this country is unanimous."

a set a f exchange reflected Janual's courtroom as well as council . I we have be words grettely and never retracted any once that I make whether judges vicerous or pandits usuall received at a the st. test represent hoping his razor sharp mind and to the combined the weapons of logic or wit draw against them, Musto, appalled at Jinnah's response, was struck dumb by it. "Mr to the state of the state of the day a nuch sharper Locra, statessum for Charles Hardings (1858-1944), who became one of Jinnah's foread up a A career diplomet by training Hardings a sopriston I I grace set i new time of arbanity and responsible, in 11. He was John Moriey's choice for Judia. Land King Caper, and a challed d lighter as wood object corrections or when King Edward VII died in May 1910, I was powerful to Mores after al lud , o land age at mental funeral. The new vicercy was quick to rapogniza, shortly after tog t abouts, how deladitating a thora Bergal's partition remained in n both politic. His first major policy recommendation to · Microsor at Whitehall, Lord Crewe (1858-1945), was to reunite the same time. Dibar and Onssaul the same time. 17 1911, linual introduced his first legislative measure, the and he are Motion pages posts Artellating Bill that was to correct years later as the very first non-officially sponsored act in British Indian y Janston's pring council had invalidated testamentary gifts of Muslim to contest was something reversion to religious on 1804 Januah called for legislative reversal of that decision charg-It was apposed to the fundamental principles of Lilamic Jurisprudence ** to law became Jurnals a most lucrative special field of knowledge and interest one he remained master of at least until 1941, as is attested by tumbunes leather-hound set of probate court law reports from 1888-I still preserved to ble Wazir mansion library in Karachi. His probate were to include many of India's wealthest princes, among them the of Hyderabad, the nawab or Bhopal, and the raja of Mahmudabad.

Even as Bengal's partition did so much to belp create the League. King surprise announcement in Belti that purition was annuled in a 1911 joiled that againstation out of its loyabit rul. The nawab of

Dacea read in Britain's reversal of partition, the government of India's capitafat on to Congress "agitators, and a sample new message to all Indians-No bombs, no boons!" I gether with his announced annother at of partition, King George V proclaimed his governments is cosmit to shift the capital of British India from Calcutta to Tic his historic parp, where a new imperial gity was to be milt. Detb. had one the capital of Muslim sultans and Mighal emperors who reigners wer must of he subcontinent sence the early thertoenth cen by Delh, remained at the hull of North India's Muslim population, educa for a centers and historic monuments, will in easy reach of Laupe. Agra Deob., 1 Algart and Lacknow (in Jecember 23, 1912) however whin Lard Hard was passed forwagh Do hi's Chandra Chiux 'S ver Market ste, he rephart eading a vicestegal process on to the ew empital Delh a nost became that a corovis graves and A bomb healed rto harving a howday which one of his quards in mental the Vice roys back exposers, he is added made. The world he issues not one of India's most popular viceroys was never apprehended.

, b - adepted the rapid alcening of Congress as well as the counce. need to the Mason League but held in Bankip it in December of 1972 He is of as not be presented League but was permit a faspence to is council at Bank him supporting a resolution that expanded the Leagues. goals a markede "the attains of it is a waster of self-government and able to ralta." to see see gld two, shrough constructions, to a see stendy reform of the caisting system of adversionable in promoting national mate and fostering a backwart among the property and and be competering is the other constraintes for the earl purposes." A ten months later he went to Lucknow pooling Mrs. Valde on the platform as in himorea guest at the sarger League meeting where a new more beval constitution was adopted President Shall in an sent of the min constitution noted that I am in entire accord with my triene he Hombir Mr. Island, in thenking that the adoption of any course, ther than the one proposed by the tid the I would be abso-, tely us was en. The Lean is a first resolution congress abod the Hon Mr. M A I much for his swift, profit of the World Vandating Act through the Imperial Logis ative Council Faceit with such accumi. Jumah could hardly resist renewed appeals to join the Vin. is League pressed upon him that year by its new permanent scendary. Seed Wazer Ha > 187 + 194. and Ma ana Mahammad A.a. 1875-1931 reversed I on I lain course and editor of Comrade, both of whom were deputed to London to lobby there for Mash de man and on age a man the rather popular in more than a large and the book of the a to Million the est would in no way and at no time imply even the sharlow of disloyalty to the arger insternal entous to select his tife was dedicated ?

April 1913 Jimush and Cokhale safled together from Bombay for the need with Lord Isangton inder secretary of state for India and in any of their Royal Public Services Commission on which Ramsay heald 1866-1937 also served That leiturely trip was their ougest adone but no record a is preserved by either of the subjects they heald though the commission agenda, general council, reforms, and attempt Hindle Mischen uney and illimately of achieving indian fairs were surery among her. Cokhare later tribl Samini who that he has Servants of Jidha Societ in Poora before he deed.

It is "has the stuff in time and that freedom from all sectamian preparation with make health best ambassader of Heads Misslem Unity"s the host ambassader of Heads Misslem Unity "see the transport of commissional met.

to all of a dio cubin in September 1913 and attended the Karuchi After celebrating his thirty seventh in readay, ale had not 1 jill a of both or over seventeen years, and to now warmly exa sat at finding it imber of "personal friends with whom I . I as le sur "He least I and saryed a resolution or reconstruct there I a fuct the calco first of all for choging the salary of the of 300 and us deput on to the English Horn rather than In the state of the say Indian topayers the burder of . You all the bay shotall The new council I, mah argued. in a find on it wis that more members, at least one-third of warm L non-theral I have hosen to a construency consisting of the a control of the all and a troped all a grelative Councils "" Half clinic entraces along of the country should be public men d I I morning to I with I to an affairs the other half exor official is better to years of Lidan experience no more fixed I die era. I was to a purely accessory rather than administraffer and fenure on it would be limited to five years. Thanks to his work the man tree of his rising position of leaders, it within final was chosen to chair a Congress deputation to London in ong of 1914 to Johby members of Paraguent and Whitehall on Lord operate in Control of I du Bill I mab also seconded a "the ross resolution, congratulating the League for adopting "the the transfer to the standard But at Empire, and express samplete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically med at the last resistant that the political future of the country depends the good of a sent of he gos or me test × 15 "11

From Karaelsi, Jimah entrained for Ages, where the Musley League met

on December 30-3., 19.3. in the former twin capital of the Mughal Empire He was bus by I work seeking a formula for a nging he two political or gamzations together on a single national made rivertes position was unsque for not only did he be or g to Congress and the Musin: League, but he was also uside the government's camp both in London and Care etta. Not even Cokea e or his Photocesials were as wrategicady positioned to bear all the views in the major was affecting India's joint all furing At the Agra sessing of the League I mad provided postpooring reaffirm non of hit in the principal it command represent an or another year erging he corch grounds that your special representation would only divine both, into two watertigh compartments. * Concress Ladjust referred action on that ques tion, and Junich opened to it were many other reasons for his uring postpone wat the tragger hough be could not give any of they reasons a publicater ababy a idea to be supliced conservations with Lokhole or the nor taks with Wildderborn and other M. P's of the Batod Committee of Congress At any event he was obscored pure ang a journey other a such as the or the work of the property in for Luckness in 1918. The MI same progree over however o reject [15] his list too ral appeal to then were not the pray me of their affair nature action sign alle electorate For meta "a say the secondary to the Langue's a prefinite fure really was inc is in which a majorit of the weague's members would long remain at odds with I much.

The server are the London in April of 1914 Other members of Timab's restigness dipt at on included Congress's Bengah president-clast, Bhupersian Na i Basi. 1859–924 and Lal Laipat Rat, who arrived a few weeks after London to the wind the Congress deputation soon after they weeks after London to the matter that a rest than of the pack he is the considered him "atter" for more remarked is there asked that the would be gold it disserts in my order-now be recorded and laid before Parliament on the motion of a Member "III.

By historic concidence. Junah and Mohandas K. Candli. (1969-1949) were both in Location of the start of World War I Barrister Candh had gone to Nata. 1. 893 to work for an Indian Makin trading con paint. 1. 893 to work for an Indian Makin trading con paint. 1. 894 to Makin trading control of the start of the s

an used neither the army nor the Pield Ambusance Training Corps raised 1. He Manatma Jamah's own mission had ended in total factors all. Englob hearts and minds were preoccupied with war, with no one giving a were a drought to India: reforms. The work of the Islangton Commission of a the same t bes of additioned that swallowed change for the in a diligita Mortey good the all pet ay rustration and assuse at how I lis you ger Liberal colleagues led by 1 of 1 George Edward Gray, at ' star Charchal reshed toward he preciping of Armageddon Pasel qui sive self represents, priffed up well pride and diseases of the all expected a swift case victory. But it is it muse, who tack of the War Office with waved monstaches as starp as the top of he consumed a long band denoted battle of ritars driest . I all It may power and at my at tall India became a warmly of a short Albed and of troops when more and vital mamy cather goods to iferms and my con shipped west through out the war.

bet if 19 4 how ser when the Ottoman cal ph opted to ink and force and torons with the Course Favers to her than 100 mg " I had my to have been Mash the acties acres sorely chall A 1 www. lede, der and dig to of thoe the corph was revered to get done Of oman boate I at shorted game found that the distributed and a clear age are at was some trying to my the for pured use my Sea h Asian "Pan starte Revolt" South es d'a f par tels gerradiess nel though a few Mas, i. to be loan at the odowing car in Sugapore vetrally every dide at this laday Arr process fact is salt" and Cobse North-West Frontier as well as Punjabi Muslims remained with I was a back sense of British India's army. Missim regiments were used without defection in Mesopotamia itself, as well as on the . IV . I up and tunn the Mist is Le gue held no meetto Inverse to December 1914, reflecting the deeply divided feelings of od their fears of madvertently providing a forum for expressions) the Both seit in

he led, gave a garden party to welcome Gardin back to
the led, gave a garden party to welcome Gardin back to
the led, antininner corps had safled for France without its
to after he had a slight nervous breakdown in London and decided to
launce to findin instead, thus prolong up his life by some three decades.
The response to findin he welcome was that he was "glad to find
he had not only belonging to lot over region's Sabha, but chattang

it." 5 Had he meant to be man our rather than bus asual ingenuous self Gandle could not save contrived a more clevers patron ring barb, for he was tot actually assisting prorate after als just informing even one of bis minority reng at deal to What an odd fact to single out for comment abou this auditaceted man, whose dress, behavior speech, and manner totally beared any resemblance to his religious affiliation. Juniah in fact, hoped by his Angloph . oppearance and wender wit and wesdom to cony nee he Haran majority of his a leagues and countrymen that he was. indeed as publied to lead up, of their july conganizations as Countile or Wedderham or Daccona Let 3 re in the best public words Gandha thered about him every one laid to note that I pind was a "Mahomostica." That first status with or Ganel's set the tone or theorie/amoust ip always at odds with deep reusions and aristrust raiders, ig its a pertir are public manners never french revercesthal The scenero owars to be sparre even before they put on any given it was as if severance us a three recognized one anoth . as actual one sees civate for not one power positions and chartements combol of their and cases however small or assessmely vast they neight becom

Cokha ex don'th a Februar 9,5 followed a few months later by the deniso of So. th rogers and lett Jaman virtually alone. Dadables remained in Lore on for his Anal two years at the head of Bombas a rederate (or griss Thak receased tran Barmene prison code in Jime of 1914 was the and aputed haro area rational lower of the "New Congress party. The Lokamanya's popularity was inrea ed vet he was almost vets and a ling and would reas more on equal to achies some entrasted to Januali than rev out mary agra, or for the last we a decade or his de A new hommar in the construction of India's nation ast leadership was Mrs. Annie Bestall 874-9931 who eight a Madrix * Fix its over the Themsephical Society founded by her grow, Managine Blay dates a sustained to cost Vite India and start her Home than League of 19,5. Just us of I lak to do the some a year after in Poona Mis Bosant's 15, temper streeton and orator, am mexhaustible onergy were four-sed in 19,4 to on sees ug to reur if the still tily ded congress Jimma lid is best to help worsing desternash at the same time to bring Congress and the Missem Le gue together for the annua meetings in Bombes

The December 22, sees most congress and the Language were the first bed a thrivalk of standard arm not see all advantages as sets by received a see and received and received

the rab new worked together to fashion a formula agreeable to all potions and communities white reiterant g Congress's general major
all for referre. Such a focused on three specials matters concerning
to had found pract in constitute of operion. The first called for
the second for quadried Indians and "military training for the peoter second for extension of local self-government, and the third for
the second for extension or local self-government, and the third for

1 of Musha. League met inder the presidency of Bengal barrister.

1 of 11 of 1966-1921 mother Congress liberal committed to

1 of a contribution acceptable o bornorganizations. Several League

test president president acceptable or bornorganizations. Several League

test president president acceptable of the president presid

the har can these times would have been lable to righ and mischitevents interpretation... There is no such thing as standing atill in this world. Either we must move forward or must go backward.

It is east that our object in holding the League contemporaneall satisfies Congress in the same circus, or deal a low as the Lysin of his Ages and to merge as notivedually world that the Congress Nothing on lid his surface the right Congress on a circulation of a weeks to the individual to the congress of the contract of the congress of the conformal of the c

there was a metalless, many members of the League who attemply re-I con a pprisher on Angey last dents hal or the nercurial 11. 1 M or 1875-1501 moved cau oursities recting of the u t sat I s econo sitting on becomber 31 19 5 Jinnah had and a south the car when Managa Mohari imped up to I at a con the mesider ordered to be to "please sit down" to a cincia ocos Mas his rose inside the hage tent rected - w Marian and a supplied Mehon's at emplify to adjoint I had a more the reason of a special committee to be need a sea by a practice below files, the visitor rows tiete la a secol. Hace 'It you are a Mohammedan. and a sealth. Withan meters the Holife ran osks you to dress "I a. You was a Mole on lar ongo You pose to a transfer of the second of th are and but I though for

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"Great Leader" A number of bearded Pathons in the audience rushed the dass, showing angrits in Pashto, Hasrat Moham called Urds, the only "proper anguage", which is hora Washim League proceedings. Every one in the crowd of severa thousands was standing, many shouting at once since we'dly waving their arms Jonah heiped escort the ladies in afterdance with act and or aid Bombay's commissioner of police. Mr. Edwardes nonchalantly sta die can the tent keeping his men mert Januah toid Edwardes that the crowd made had become as disorderly the meeting could not proceed and test those causing the disturbance were public visitors. who have been want teed out of courtest and by "ker" " He asked the conmissioners resp to clear the tent of somewhers offering to reland the notices instant to of an one who had paid for a tacket bedwardes between the be of such sensity service nowever insisting to would use his force only to the true test entirely if a or rea that the situation uside was out or control Junal preferred to ange Providen II que to admire the overing and he rect wire to a capture enders later that day in the presidents house to plan for the next day's session.

The Mond of Langue was reconvened on New Years Day 1916 in Bomone sicily that Mate Motel Atte dance was street, imited to regular new servand the press treadent Hapic operiod the opening at 0.00 exeor menting right a ne nevous dearders the reallest por Mr Januals. Who was received with and chosen. "As president of the Bombas W. e. i. Show its come a san a same don if the south and "increwer it song of Bombin, "In River larger with a mountain a most as hill as kitcheners and lean as a rapier a sampler ske Rona Coleman, dressed i ke Anthons been, and was adored by most women at first 5 the aixl admired or envised by most and the reported (a missioner Edwardess pig peaded behavior b eres of "s name to call is andew to moved the manime all carried reso in to appear a special commettee to for plate and frame a schere of reforms in consultation with other 'political' organizations the two paraes of Congress which would allow them to demand a single plat form of reforms " with name of I need india." That reso thon was greated with roud approse A committee of sevents one graders of the Mic in League was appointed represe in gievery province of British India via. charred by Juny his cross travaid and chemit Rain Sir Mohama and M. Monammad Khair Bad ad in the raja of Mar radal at 1872 1971 omnitive encoders from som as it is he Aga Khan (877, 1067) and Juniar those for my hand to all Marsa Miles in 1 sales in 489 the and Minr 5 r Ford Husain (1877-1936) while the Bengal contingent but A. K. Fash: Hart (1893-1982) in its canks, Before that specting in the Lag ended. President Haque remarked upon "the great work done for the

"isen Phoenix-like from the ashes" by his friend Mr Jinnah." addiThe errore Mohammedae common to of India owed have a deep debt
"in think for a thought by exemions they could not have met as Bondon;"

on usuper ribute the president their turned to Januah, sayong "Mr Jonnah,
in Missa mans of India i and con. It it was the first such it but I mah

torefeed from the Muslim Longue, but would not be his last

4

Lucknow to Bombay (1916-18)

For a rid 1916 was a year of nation I fame and good fortune. After help not save in Mean a Lought for a describion a Bombas he was elected to ear to to the pits of loop in Lacknow counts of the one neglition and management of the White Europe fore to Lapartial along the justice good of vessers from Lawar advances, under Lanaha dispring category, toward a polancia horizon that seemes ablace with the gold a count of any neutroscience.

Largeb was recovery for a second term to Bombay's Muslim seat on the Central Legislative Council and used that forum to good advantage representing the Congress by gen proposition once traffed to London Congress and at a ptop to man contactive beader by Vistilal Nebra (18-1) 193 who my ted its numbers to less paratio. Adal apad house in Apra to discuss he woposed reforms with I ague leaders that of the fertime to had carned as a lawyer was levished on hospitality and support for Corgress and for Mrs. Resaults, iche, Bale Lought, which Mobile funded most gen musty. The elder Nebra admired Jamah saturback, had to friends at this time as "unlike most Muslans . . as keen a nationalist as any of us. the is show per as a community the way to Hadu Mush a roty. For a whole they su morres one another a the Central Legislative Coursel but by the gite 92 s Motifal our Limah became bitter rough. Motifal a fierce advecate and tenacious wrestier, wanted personally to lead India's nationalist movement to independence, or hoped at least to bequeath such power to his son, hunah, the Lancoln's line barrister, would never rest content simply to assist a provincial pleader no matter how great his fortune happened to he.

that A wil, as Congress and the League labored in Allahabad to draft

be Freedom Pact" that was to be sealed at Lucknow. Dubin lay shattered turns under martial law. The haster Roung of 1910 was as brotally a shed by kitcheness army in Ireland as was Concra. Join Vixon's Indian to be disease incompetence and Turkish troops in Messipotation the amounth Contrary to not rational expectation, shattering every cylized on and dream the air con mod intensioning rather than thoring in its 1-fun with the roccession leads to distribute and given mode and the air contract of the first with the roccession leads to distribute and given more entitled.

han lemands for direct to accomplish much the self-governing the minimal to Impercal Conference intersified Crowe left the line is affice replaced. I to the Chain with a 1881-1937 in Max Hardat. For additional greening hat be quote I man demands for a greater role, the boroations agreeing hat the claim to a remession after the containing and confirmines was not all towon and kinchener still dominating are War Chainel however the mage was ground By and 1816 he of the only was replaced by a 1st an onto-pured and a inspiring caracter coptain Lord Chellerford (1905-1833).

free his meeting at Allahaba I Jimah went north to Derjeeling to profile tiext two countries of atems. But he heat have tioning or the and some of its eliene and friend St. Dies as M. norkjet Peter. 873-1st The Petits were one of Box is a weightness Purse as its text to en her whose east forther was to give by Ste Doughard request and a great If ther who came to Botther from Strat a 785 to weaker as a to golors and dubash two maging miterpreter for the Britis. Last the Company French neighbours and sort with this bright ver could I a clerk lubbed out La parti Parsi " Lae mekhaire bessent his daad are summer His san Marsocker Pe I for more Burnhay's first suc-1 ofter all which grow into he spread . A more Mills complex . Int less The first account by Deastary started Bombar's powerf a Mills . r Associator in 1815 which he chaired from 8 9-94 fle ascisery d 1.1 ge 1.1 ession aws, and soper disposition of the dead upon the or of Silvace The charts. June now had be in instrumenta a sectioning and terror to and product present against of the Parsi Succession " Man good at the manuals holped auri aster The Patri family was thus not only among the richest, but also one of the most devout, a high a first mass. But I also the mind the mineteenth century With the death of the Best Sir Dinshaw in 1901 his entire name, fortune,

ed religious duties and responsibilities passed on to his some passed in the condition in health of the condition in the conditio

way. As she matured, all of her talents gifts, and beauty were magnified in so de ightful and unaffected a manner hat she seemed . "fairy princess," almost too love v 100 tragile to be real. And her mind was so alert her and ect so well and probing that she look as much interest it politics as sho did in romantic poetry and assisted on attending every public receting held a Borness during 1915, always sitting of course in the first row chaperoned by her multim honaire pladanthropist maidea aunt, Miss Mamaba, Petit 8

that summer when Rettir was sixteen and Jinnah at least forty, they shared he Peti chatea, with p view of Mount Everest, perched 7,000 feet high in the id-la "Town of the Thanderbe t -Darfeeling where only the chorees tea plants are the stort snow clad maintain preas and admited truly we nessed the passionate games of longing and love that passed between these two.

That October via 916. Junish presided over the Bombus Provincial Co ference is the edulad the text le capital of Caparat, wealth and power in mis preprieted strategy of prostrict a governments from as that of Box hay it to visitady as trummos sinder instrations responsible to elected represen at ves of the pearle. Missims and Haidus, wherever they are in a in ordy having proper adequate and effect a representation." As to all district and restroyed governments of Jianub real-rated the arguments of Liberta's Japon and Morley as sting they "should be wholk elected that the tresent the a control exercises by the Collectors and Commisstoners shown be a neved that the sharman should be elected by the Binards and the ex official President should be lone away with that a por tion of Excise rever is or so in other definite so recoil revenue should be mad on who il se Bothes so that they have adequate resources at their disposal for the case performance of their dates." It wend have meant no less than transforming the all powerful Inman (vi Service atterne ser vants if respons his Incha; a vision Jimnah's racical proposa s for character did not howe, r stop there He asso Jemanded an end to "the unpest ap pheation of the Arms Act to the people of Iskua from which the Europeans are exempted" called for the rupes, of the Press Act less resort to the murtial aw" Detence of Insua Act specifica is denouncing its recent application in banning Mrs Besant from Bombay; and minediate enactment of a free una compalsory measure of elementary education. He as weathaf had a is should have joing a accident a mitted to roud commissions in the orms and navy, unling, "If Indians are good enough to fight as so; out and I meansh, i is not good only to a good position of officers? "

Iterah carehuled his Bombay Conference address with the "all dweet se quer air" of Hands Mashir amily

I believe all thinking men are thoroughly convinced that the keynote of our real progress lies in the goodwill, opnoord, harmony and cooperation between the two great sister communities. The true focus of progress is centered in their union. But the solution is not diffis alt

LICENOW TO BOMBAY (1916-18)

Jinnah was speaking as an advocate for the Muslim community as a ade the was but expressing his own poblical reology or reflecting his a tence. The burden of sacrance he arge I tell upon the majority community, yet their reward would be commensurate

I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and Away and welcomend encourage they all as es of Miss is ever if it involves some sacrifice in the matter of separate electorates. t is a question . . . of transfer of the power from the bureautract to democracy. Let us concentrate all our attention and energy lead to accurate the Lands and le Mas ass and not distind so every constitution along a triage means to effect that transfer as soon as possible. . . . We are on a straight mad, the promised land is within sight "Forward" is the motto and about course for young India."

. I mali more pare stir. The future for a day's coved as pright, a this and past on a we that I hatte i'll were to different communities, yet love scaled every height, reduced to like all learners. So at least it must have seemed to him then, at the peak

lite regative political powers, on the road to his triumph at Lucknow I but he went to Calculta, where the Imperial Legislative Council still I for its winter season, the New Delhi of Luytons and Baker rising so by on the spacious plans south of the old city's massive wall and gates it would not be ready for council use till the late 1920's. Before October and Junual was able to convince eighteen other elected members of "He a council to sign his "Memorandum of the Nineteen," which was presented to the viceroy and sent on to Whitehall. The memorandum the terms of a same contract of some discret and was such a directive of the Legis whould have a substantial majority of elected ad the franchise should be "broadened" with "Mus mis Husban whenever they are in a minority, being given proper and ademany of the force of the perioders, sclosed controls of from 60 to 100 own sers svere record them ed were to enjoy greater responsibilities and parliamentary freedor a praction of the accretary of state aband he also also also replaced

by two permanent undersecretaries with one being Indian with salaries "places on the Birtish estimates" In any schedue of imperial federation, Incian should be given through nor closes, representatives a place similar to but at the self-governing Dimemons. Provincial governments should be made autonomous a "full neisure of ocal self-governation was demanded "minediately," are right to carry areas solution greated to Indians on the same obtained as Europeans, and two in other should be equally obtailed for royal course seems, who are not forces

The memorandum provider a skelet dicors, tution for an Indian domin ion which, had this proposal been accepted by the British after World War a good lase taken its place with a He British Camen awardth, united lova to every dea for which the A les had length progressively modern izing under responsible leadership. The war was still far from over, how ever, and the full report of how Indian arms had sustained their worst actest in Mesopotan , was as yet to be it's used, rechning British taille at sportling Indian to its lowest point given as the Revertion soon to rock I say whole strep the All as father contern a Mr. The British War Cabinet tragically lacked he view pricesum acregs to focus afterior aport and take the outstretched hand of united India. The winter of 1918 had offered Great Britain, as well as India, one of those rare opportunities in historic when a crosting wave could be caught and ridden toward a welcoming shore but if a seed on the crosh with murderous impact on the heads of those too preocoupled, timid, or ill-prepared to seize the swiftly chargon, mornent

Jamah caught a spectroular ride in the crist of a toroida his inguinus legal rand had lash ones, and which he was at # to convince Congressing the Calcutta in ride. November The key to their Lincknow Pact lay in agreeing upon person ages of paranteed "Nushin members" for each of the legislative councils one thad at the criter and in Bourna, one half in the Pumph, 40 percent in Bengal, 30 percent in the United Provinces. 25 percent in Bengal, 30 percent in the United Provinces and in Malan Except for the Pumph and Bengal, where Muslim representation was such less than the fraction demographic equivalence warranted, the minute community received a fonder legislative voice than population estimates alone would have dictated, As an even more vital safeguard to reasset Muslims who feared losing Islamic identity within a future "Hindu Engthe pact provided that

No bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which spection

to be determined by the members of that community in the Legalary Countal concerned, shall be proceeded with it the fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council Imperial or Processing oppose the billion and clause thereof or the resolution.

m at left no looph sles in the contracts he drafted

that is great and inspiring to be common affairs of men, for which and not value to financial nave as ed and wrough, and sufficient all ages and all comes, a now more of India me of its depths,"

1. Tresident Juniah from the Muslim League's rostrum on December

In a hink country is awakening to the call of as destary and is seaning to borrzons at the ager hope. A new start of care stress,
and in and less orien is absoluted the end of all directors are
blusterings of a new life. The Musalmani of India would be
to become use and their ofteniss of their had they not
to be the tell the new nept than is every find no part the sons
to or lad he travel to expend to the end of their maley
care like that of their Hindu Language every one is every or

that gentlemen of the All-light Muslim League, remember that the constraints and of the sine orders is a fit a no rent to the constraints and the sine of the sine of the sine of the constraints of the league, will go forth with all the force and that analogy matter become forth with all the force and that analogy matter become middle the most benders and all size of the distributions. On the rate of the size of

the state of the s

has broad as dethe live good segments specify of patriotism and the many segments of techniques desired by the many segments of the most significant biopedul aspect of this opini is their that a has taken its rise from a more movement in the direction of national unity which has brought and Madhau together involving brotherly service for the non-more

This vita portion of his Lucknow addless later proved so embarrassing to the League's goals that it was excised from the official pamph of subsequative air alled an reproduced by advocates of the Pakistan Movement Such cersorsh, was however screly as masguided a mareadary for to ignore the potent power of J and a commitment to Handu-Mus in and in 1916 and make at impossible fully to appreciate the tenacine of his use determination to Liurg Pakistan to trist out I small understood perfectly that Inc. a smally hope all careeging as a national enaity undescendent and strong from a der cac hard of witing importal rule was through pror abatement of co-munic cars suspice is and residual any opies. His standing with r Congress was such that he managed to personate cleagues there of the oven ding rational alar in corned gial age enough junta is elect di log say we come I seats to the ships, to be able a carvince the League that jeurightees with Congress in articlating a single and onal set or lemands. wis nefact, a two washingt "care wall pair at The demeately negotrated cettler a centred as much to his comarkable legal tateras as it did to his assistant and a a st corr atmen

Dy a new opense would have predict that it goast half "our constitution battle and seen we already". The said that any demand have on the transport of the experiment of the end of the end of the experiment of the end of the experiment of the transport of the experiment of the exper

After you have a lopted the scheme of reforms you should see that the Congress and he was a factor was concurred near rest have the reafted as some district actions a sending R like the Comment of his action between lawrences to make perform the comment of his action of the order of his action of the sending R like the control of the control of the sending representation of the A Linda Massache adopted by the indianal responsibility of the property of the sending representation of the form of the sending representation of the sending repres

bit first secretary to the corresponding to the entropy of the corresponding to the correspon

's adoption marked the high point of Indian nationalist in the and provided to fixed and rational a constitutional framework for governing the subminiment of South Asia as any subsequent plan tensed after years of labor to rependiture, and the precious shood has been wasted. But showever to apply the Wilsonian principle of "self-leter markion" to heir Indian empire.

ongress met ust a few da's hefur, the League in the same historie 8 are Rogh. Recal Garden of Locknow its firs reunfied session y nos to 19 spir at year attracting more disa 2,300 as egytus. "biassed are the makers, and President Maza, udar welcoming Tilak and his aging ow" party hack to the fold Farring to the find Musum "question," to toda amounced it.

cas been settled and the Huidus and Mussilmans have agreed to
the holded denial distribution from The All India Congress
the and the tenes matrices for Most a Lingui where
it are nontreserve at Labout a low after two distributions
to none in the sevent ones, a para deniand for a licensenting
the next of holding.

111 over the political remarked. We are ready to make a constant of the control to the left and one disclosure from the care of the control to the care of the care o

It is the part of Name and The complete contract he had written out he not, part of Name and was ready of at it to be acid test and approximately have been any to instruct the two schoels repersions and approximately have been approximately and approximately have been approximately and approximately and their command many gos, "to the same hasters take a "expressed" is a suph the opinion of the health and the same antigonism. I make count to the same antigonism. The disaphter to the same and the same

to report the second expension of the second expension

as a friend to Jamah after that I nir of such a better and rude awakening to what everyone cise is Bombas abreads knew Not would be same on the marriage under any circumstances. First he fort a fluttle ever to see Jamah and at east while she remarked to nor under I pa dial root of fine marole. Then he sought legal reror eles, alting an apprehen to prevent their marriage of ce site came of tige based in the flars. Marriage Act, but he was pitted against a harrister who rarely list air case and could gladly have died before surrencering in this natter Productably puritages flatties passionate devo ion to her self-causer I is and to be only riters fless thanks to her father's adamant insistence that she never see him ago to Julia ! The she would not be deterred by prep dies or the reference of her parents Sir Dinshaw met I s not quitely in stabilion tour or twice over in the long-suffering commented on the supre Sidera part nell passionately these walled t world attact ringgers at right on ord married just a few months that it is soon as the ast and a remarks could be shart if as,de by Jinnah's Invincible courtroom sword.

The er are title and it was proved as frestratingly difficult audi for a pre-word of their Robbie's batter. The Mexpot Disast it or Bastard War as the cream. Iraq describing the box from mos and to be called rel to many a gry pacstons in both and to a requires that revealed a few acompositioner is the shaperest of Atter meeter stapping and they weal or some I from Landers, works to the Person Gulf Secretary State Cha berlan accented the er or "I saw" through harely deserved. as his own responge it is so mains of the Usha Office in and 9." Thanks to that sacrile a set sowers I herd have a Montaga a 1879-118 was placed a charge of It dia and a sec a the Horse of Commons of August 20 1917 to amounce that the new inspiring policy of His Majesty's Cox eriment with all a ac Government of I did are as emplote accord, is hat of he acre many association of Indians in ever, branch of the admin istra- in and the grade a texcopinert of self-governor rist (ii) has with a view to the regressive reassition of respons the government.) Incha as an integral pure of the Use shift apiece. Here sit sast appeared to be the promise of "dom non states" that policeal leaders throughout Incla and awaited since the war began National stie es gloss di wer the "grace." development and progressive realisation, read goods the self-government institutions and "responsible government mantrix o Monago francia Imperia ist Curzer rather that Mortage sates the Hene promise of all xower I more red. Wat I at me our god with a real of allering sale gurd advocators as vis spire at the shorter det Montagus tenure at Whitehall, In the winter of 1917, however, Edw.

Montaga became the first secretary of state for Ind.a actually to visit the I out near while held up that high office.

DUENOW TO SOMBAY (1916-18)

. In ancient complexity of India, its pluralism and paradox affected I it as deeper as it did most shors tro; afar though he had toured the country once before in 1913, and, as a Jew, considered himself "an Oriental" end priver stern so many people, so much poverty, amid so osteniamous of was th and hower . Ind a fascinated and terrified I in so hat by all this journey he was horough a masted tree rated and dra nod Let son linguistious Moreagn was traumatized by India flattered by in the of her wedgene shocked at the nagintude of her problems I had and disorrented by the official royal treatment he received.

. in publical leaders Mentago talked with a loci. Jamah me-Lor rest Tong perfectly mannered impressive looking, armed and the studies tree and prestent upon the whole of his scheme

Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. . I was and it is, of ourse at intrage that such a man we no chance of running the affairs of his own country "If Montagu No. 254 444 194

visit to India means that we are going to do something, and some-. a go home and pood c a h le tar g or nort again must be epoclimaking, or it is a failure, it must be the keystone of the the first term Noticing is want by in comfort - the stoff to carry this sort of thing off. For the first time in my . I wish I looked like Curzon, . . . I wish Lloyd George were here; I de la la fall a anct had one I wish 4s a tha were nere. to tene of India's missortunes that I am alone, alone, alone the perneer that has got to carry this thing through.16

I to it it it or arison toucks to Jinnah's persona appeal to number on her behalf, invited Montagu to attend the Calcutta over which the was to preside that December "Oh, if only Lloyd of the Unit Montage nomined to his dury. He of course dash down to the Congress and make them a great oration. the cong or It might save the whole situation But the I de Congress, the real Indian political movement, is in to be we men the only Fig ishwoman, to be int president of the Congress, her reward for the suffering she expethat it is a facility with a some a sail unab took of the Bonday branch of her Home Bule League immediately after

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Mrs Besant's internment on June 15, 1917 and Rottle was one of her most ardout consiers just order 5 000 delegales and almost as many visitors attended to Care the Congress, where Junah moved the most important resolu un cache, for replementation of the Lucknew Pact reforms, a reso lution earned by accompanies. A few days later Jonals moved much the sume resolution before the Muslim League which "strongly argus upon the Government the annied accumulation of a Bill or body og the reforms contained in the Congress-League Scheme of Decenaer 1918, as the Bis step overds the manzano of responsible government. As the prospect responsible government appeared a fran closer many of his Lazque colleagues were growing more concerned that Mislim interests would be ig-whom Maslims do not appress of a news resist as carried by a ballot box do you think that I could be varied out and admin stered in this cot ony " Mish has should not have the lear that the Him as can pass ans log a tion, as they are in a majority and that would be the end of the matter "" He strong vices sed the Muslim League nut to be "seared away" from the or operation with the Hindas which a by "your coomes assentia, for the establishment of self-government."40

Ma la a Moha amad 4h Lad have eved to preside over the Musaul League's Calcutta ression, but his chair was empty throughout the most in as or convene interned ender Louis arrest with his bacther Smarkar An

87) 1936 5 not 1 5 the A brothers had been inder areset by the government midel its make one gents powers. The newspapers the edited Generally and Iramsland had angued favorable in schalf of Caliph Med. Hanne of the Ottom. It is an it is bristly often adon retained sphilic two as as to, is make a case to sever two vorsas meeting the precise reasons for intesting times as to, is make as so to, is make a case this expresses of promoted symptolic was they were interest account this expresses of promoted symptolic with the Kings suggested. The As brothers become raily as governed with a first special promoted symptolic with the Kings suggested well, and were a night of the Mahasina Califfornia for Mestions by the Hantius as well, and were a night of the Mahasina Califfornia for the Mahasina Califfornia for the British required.

While Goodh courted popular Muslim support by allying house't must outspokenly with the strategy or be call of the Almothers he sought smooth tancously and woo office I could enser by carring all Indian to call stim the British time. Both postanes appeared parameters to this play who and never considered to Malar nature of cities of Malar nature in the state of the second of war and that a Tableton and I this than a construction of the second of

wall a melecular and a control of the control Britain's inten-

** Overalling drive in India insisting first of all that Indians "should be not the same footing as the European Brosh subjects before being the hight Specifically be demanded that my all commussions be made to the people of I dia "Chelmstord anguly rebulsed that position is a light specifically be demanded that my all probled that position is a light subject as Kings equal, subject in my own country to the comment face to face that this bar mist be removed? Is it bars to be a subject to an that the bar of the put on the light in as he hardpean Broish subjects? Is that bargaining?" As I have of the owned, Joseph was of course invited to the war in set. I write planned to hold that A on, in Dib by our first he had a subject to important engagement to attend in Bomba.

I ad and hatter on Friday Apr. 19, 1918, at his house. South or Mount Plas nt Road stop Malaba. Hall in Bon say She had there do soul a thing a shi removed a nonsoctation with New a Rattes re- wes attended her wedning She had if it full was more med as if dead by Sir Danham until see and at a so and a decade after her had more on The raja of I all I startes that not Mushus friends of Jaruah ac-. . . ld . A ring when h and gave to his will or the thers g b " Mahmadabad's son and hear recalled. and at their hones moon a No callin har house "24 It was not Dargeeling, yet perched over a mile above sea level, Naini was the as to the Vin via wif is Mahrendal ads aked best and to a the san there is new over onles of anch it as through rich 1 1 1 tronders the profess obseration and joy of being h have my an whose natura beauty seemed barely to the bliss they found in one another

k of hor venezurg n the hills, the vouns, couple of a construction of the shee the accedent of the construction of the constru

with bited laughter recorded the world of her heat iful presence. Jimah with his bristling back moustache and brillant vilum notes ever, pressed as smartly us may british ford inside Brakingham seemed the perfect consort for his british and as locked it at pring of 1928 as hap a and fulfilled as they test. With a sart that perfectly heatthat her had reason to expect that the fature might be one long after of continuing happiness, if not others all the same of the same o

The De he war conference was the first sattleground on which I much confronted the man who was to beer me his teremos, contenuer for national promane ce and it her power it th his tomes moon not but over Janah early aard vise blamed switten is for mid-restricting is thow potent a force was arrayed against in that has a sewen had naked across the viceron. conference table. In response to the invitation I went to Della" (in the recalled, gratu to a vivotesting. It was not in my notice to placate an one by adulation ar a to cos of selv as seet at Recogning this event als al a decade later as the Malar in shore experiments that Truth would in spire in Thors of young Indian water scale its the world over to emulate his satures (and) on d not of or one grove who he had done nor could ful the ded to special he Masher case to the Vicerox "he nexted area rughs 'properated the tions to participating in conference that perform excluded the Ali brothers. Thus, after reaching Della, he wrote to Land Chamstord ex narring my has lat on to take part in the a ference. He noted up to discuss the quies are with min. I had a prolonger discuss in with him and to critical North to Mr Maffey As a result I agreed to take part in the conference '20 Candhia and however was to be conflored to secondary the ker resortion on reen ting the arms for the arms and "As regeres the Muslim demands I was to adoress a serior to the Vierges. Has ing copitul ted to Chel nafired, however the Visitatina was so conscience stricker at what he are greed to that he resolved to do it as briefly a paletably as possible. His second would be one short sent ace. With a till sense of a responsibility I beg to support the resource." He de ve rd that sentence, moveover, first in Hindi and then translated it himself note English Ther in his Autoriography in focused on the initial language has had used, not on the words spoken, or the meaningful support ". rendered to martial violence and the British war machine

Many congratulated me on my having spoken in Hindustani. That was, they said, the first instance within living memory of anyone have a spoken in the said was a said in a part of a congratulations and the discovery that I was the first to speak in Fundustani at a Vice regal meeting hart my instonal patie. I felt his shruking into nevertif

What a tragedy that the language of the country should be taboo in meetings held in the country, for work relating to the country, and that a speech there in Hindustant by a stray individual like myself should be a matter for congratulation! Incidents like these are reminders of the low state to which we have been reduced.

I nable to admit how wretched he felt at receiving the congraturations of many imperatuals for having abandoned nonvolcine to corry favor vet a needs. Candhi expressed his true trebings as a straind vidual those atmost rade was "hurt" but justified them to his own it emory and contribute them to make the hard hard agrange grounds. There was mitted to a national anguage grounds. There was mitted to make the scenes and the mason Candhi "tell file."

I make those of this operatured to receiving on he was would, to vet indeed dry church to server mental breakdow. Technic the end of the But Candhi's localist old at the was content on proved devias atting and and government stand and angust the outer rule analyst leadership in attendance at Delhi off balance.

I do to ed to move a substitute nationalist reso at on but was rided of the seros had to grante and sent Ch. usford Jianah and it cannot ask on or against to fight the approximation - on of which is denied to their own country. A subject race cannot to be to other with the heart and energy with which in the race can fight for fixed of the find others it ladia is to a also great st riflers in d black the face to sixt but as a star in the Parent and not they and a let bet be that she a tighting for her own freedom as of the monocountry of tree nations index he British Crown and than his after over here to should by begand of the just and the period of the second o an and the Compriss Langue scheme as the first stage and a Hill to that effect be introduced into Parliament at once "18 Had If he may be the trans behand Jimpal's leadersh p at Della me the auditor as revelor as over after Together they the standard Brand to tand I that the dore overwight but a create bare accounted the conster of power timetable. They to even have avoided partition

less of the state of the state

bitterness in them which cannot be eradicated and for my part I am not

going to attempt the task."20

Governor Willingdor convened his own prosincial was conference in Bombay's town hall on June 10 9.5 Juniah was there and must have felt the blood rush to ais free as Wribingdon remarked. Then are a certain number of cametine, some of whom have considerable influence with the public many of them in their of the political organization called the Home Bale Longue whose activities have been such of late very that I cannot him estly fix sure if the success, it have been such of late very that I cannot Millingdon's proposed resolution missing there ould be no Hame Defence without Hame ride, into he was ordered to leave the conference Jinanh than cose to speak and said he was

pained very many parted, that His Excellence should have thought fit o east deabts in the sometrers at I the Livelin of the Home Hale) Part. It was very sort. But with the utioned we put he mist enter his employed in that against the They were transmis as and one deto help the defense of the notice who is dutie happen ference was not examine in my hows for Congrament's methods the He is no le far did not went the was . . making or gestions for the approvement of the scheme The Coverement had their own scheme, war a far the reer trient of separa but that was not causely a save been from the Corman merias. agin all a major in other words a chizen arms and not a purch I say the left you wish to enable us to help you or face hat and st bulate the recripting, you once make the edmated would been that they are the otizens of the I upore and the Rung's equal subjects. But he Covernment do not do so it in say that we shall be trusted and man real actiners in the lapin. When We won't wan, wires. Willer I want the consider from of the matter m definitely put off. We want action and immediate deeds.**

Jamah's public conflict with Walangdon was reflected in their neerbic social reathorship. The Jamah and been mosted to dinner at Bomba's Covercinent House soon after returning from their honeymou. Rithe work one of her lowest and Pais evening gowns and Lach Walangan was jurk to order her servant to bring a wreng to over up Mrs. Jamah. In case she fencedd "Jimah did not wet or the servants return, outling reflections to talory his hostes. When Mrs. Jamah fork wild, was a said and ask or a wreng west from the servants return a read in the did not set foot fiside the Covernment House again till the Willingdons Lack proved out.

Less than a week after the provincial war conference broke up, Jinnah

league celebrated Home Rule Day, on June 16, 1918, with a mass relly in Bombay, at which [innah said

Lord Willingdon has said that the support of the Home Rine Party is half-heatred. My answer is this Your methods and policy are all wrong. I cannot believe that even a bureaucrat is so blind as not to see it . . . they do not trust us and, therefore, are not prepared to allow us to take up arms for the defence of our own mother and and of the Empire They wand us to continue an organ sation, which they take in a man, which is the proparation and the first time round and tell us that we are not helping them. I say what Mr Mortago, it has speech of the Mesopotiana Report has said, that the Government of India is "too wooden, too iron, too anteditivian to be of any use for the modern purpose we have In view."

Less than a month later. Candhi wrote to urgo Jinnah to "ii ake an emphatic hamation regarding recrustment," arguing

t an you not see that if every Home Rule Lee guer became a potent even in, agency whost of the static time fighting for construction rights we should ensure the passing of the Congress acceptes science for "Seek ve first the recruiting office and everything will be added onto you."

a count of Gandh is strangest letters and appears to have left Jonnah too 1-sted to respond Candh care the appropriate the wiston of Jonah's position on recruiting as soon as he started going from village to village in at to the peat of a sedimentary for drug.

As soon as I set about my task, my eyes were opened. My optimism

i deride stock Well if investigs wherever we went recipie

and in that the me or two would offer the iscress as recit is

You are a votary of Ahimsa, how can you ask us to take up arms?

What would be exercised done for adia to deserve our co-opera
tion?" These and similar questions used to be put to us.

to be wrete Maffex quoting even tougher common peasant questions, such as, "How can we who can hardly bear the sight of blood and 1 1 c. 1 i handlest arms suddens some on the counge to join the army?" Before September was over, Gandhi's health hoke down, person of older a history of fixed meaning of work.

I very nearly ruleed as constantion luring the recruiting campaign (i) if and (i) | i = 0 | one (i) | one

feated and that the Commissioner had sent word that recruiting was no longer necessary. The news that I had no longer to worry mysef and a cording came as a very great reliable. Vallability are up with Dr. Kannga, who felt my pulse and said, "Your pulse is quite good I see absolutely no danger. This is a cry. is breakdown due to extreme weakness." I passed the hight without sleep. The morning broke without death coming. But I could not get rid of the feeling that the end was near 58.

Montaga a report on linear coast-ational reforms was published in Juli 1918, recommenting part al control of the executive in the provinces by the legislature upon the executive in the Covernment of I did, and as far as passible complete popular control in local postics. In Juniary is fair, as far as possible complete popular control in local postics. In Juniary is accorded this status report and issued because to the press on July 23, 1918, noting that

The proposals are not like the laws of the Persians and the Medes that they may be mon flow sport to their checutering Great effort has beer made a face the problem. I know that great difficult es were put in the way of Mr. Montago, a could and he was colled upon to heat with the arthe most intricate and enough cated an arm that are courty lad over to face but I think he has been unduly in the need by de alarmest section, which has resulted in rim cherable rester tions he og put co the co cession had have been made to the people . . The advancement would be worthless unless in major provinces like Bon buy as the appartments except the Pelale and Justice are transferred I are willing to accept the only as a training hor a stage war a ew to show that for the present the ma of mance of aw and order may be restrived to the Coveraged to stice the argument has been advanced that after all we are going through an experimenta, stage 40

Again Jinnah proved himself or nenth moderate and flexible a bridiant cutativations, lawyer and negotiator. Had his efforts to use directs with Morraga not been sauctaged by the government of local and is. Black Rowlatt acts the coars of trageds that were to ensure in the water of the war need not have detailed the process of responsible transfer of sower set so patiently in motion is Britains two greatest Laberal secretaries of that John Morkey and Edwin Montagu.

Jinnah served on the joint Congress-League committee to coord-nate both responses to Mintag is proposals which emerged as analysis of a coptance of the report combined with realisancing of the Luckwow team and arged rapid strides toward attainment of full responsible govern Congress leaders differed widely in their assessments of the report Soir or a Nath Bancejea was willing to support it C. R. Das. anticipating "the faile of Dearche" wanted real Responsible Government on 5 years," while Mothin Nehru was ready to wait another two decades." The regular annual y sions of Congress and the Mashin League were scheduled to be held in Delhi in December.

As World War I sputtered to its end that November so did Willingdon's and over Bonday. The Jimans could hardly want for that governor to are and when they war and of plans by some of Will agdor's area friends ed a public function at lown Itall authoring hip in the eve of his ture they lamnehed a mass apposition movement to that function It a lumalis is stand most agore a pullic demonstration against a British in The Willington Memorial Contratter and their meeting to start . 00 xi o: December 11 Sur is 400 if a puali's vouthful followers started one is one near the steps of Bon bay's town but the right netore. Police I in tirus of ps thoms to a clay of crowds (1 10 00 a se when the corned, so art a before which Janah himse flarrived to take a place for liming the head of the queue. He vaced up the sieps as fast as the grass could carry here and secure little very first rows with his Home It is mades About upon, Battle, trived with a tillin basket filled with . nicks has for the dated not leave those choice sends knowing -d supporters we ld start to show up in the early of errors. The and was 65. It is fact nouns sefore the volled sheriff of Bon, as es field the trainer for present the problem one of Bombas's earling where family fortune was made in the opium trade, "presided" over . . . Ing, but from the moment he rose to address the audience, Jinnah laque were on their feet, shouting "No, no?" Rancous protests at all about the transfers and though no one could hear him resolution of appropriation" for the most is The commission and police then ordered the act to be . housed," and Juniah as well as Ruttie and their friends were bustled at ide I say to be told only time I end would be roughed up a n r autom He emerged from the town ha how-· v popular Bombay hero.

Ilemen, von are the citazens of Bombay." Jimah told his adoring

— that stretched across Apollo Street that evening. "Four triumph

1 — made it clear that even the combined forces of bureaueracy and
enticture could not overawe you. December the 11th is a Red-Letter Day

16 the history of Bombay. Centlemen, go and rejoice over the day that has
ested in the triumph of democracy." That right a huge demonstration
held to Shantacan's Ghawl and soon no fewer than 65,000 rupous worce

much of it in one rupous contributions, to build. "Fee de's Imanh

Memorial Hall' which still stands in the compound of Bombay's Indian National Congress Building, commemorating the "historic triumph" of the citivens of Bombay "inder the brave and bulliart readership of Moharunad Ali Jimah." After Jimah Left Congress, and especially after the birth of Pakistan that hal' appeared strangely anachronistic and is now anonymously referred to only by its initials as P. J. Hall. Few Indians remember that People's J. mah. was erected to honor the fearless leadership of Bombay's most inspiring ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.

5

Amritsar to Nagpur (1919-21)

Versites brought not peace but the sword of harsh repression and better the mean of India. Marital law. Detence of India Acts' passed in 1315 had a part of rivid liberties and all regal one piocess throughout the war in the government of India to arrest. Better to expert one and the same that there is expert in stated as at The Allied viet my has natured as a sub-report of the India warrant or stated as at The Allied viet my has natured as a contract a such report of the India warrant or stated as a local law the government is such as the contract of the moust report of the India and the government is such as the contract of the Contract of the India and Ind

ins a way terest for the disease are reventionary crimes,"

11 His Mr. Jonah, as Rowlan's Bill was tabled on Pebruary 6.

In substitute the Executive for the Judicial will lead to the abuse of those wast powers. . . . There was no precedent or parallel in the legal history of any civilized country to the enactment of such laws.

The was the most inopportune moment for this legislation as high hopes about momentous reforms had been raised. . . If these communicative were passed they will create unprecedented discontent, agilation and will have the most disastrous effect upon the relations between the Government and the puople.

warmings fell on deaf cars. Chelmaford, Rowlatt, and the others were not to steam full shead draptic the chantingus opposition of all

twenty-two Indian members on the council There were thirts four official members willing to rubber stamp the Black Act that was passed into law a March 1919

"By passing this Bill" J unali wrote Chelmsford a few days later from his Manbar Hill bouse to which he had returned as soon as the vote was announced.

Four Excellence's Government have actives, negatived evert argument they at the Wir Contervacy and a rive induces his range of apon the principles for which Great brital avowed's fought the war. The fundamental practices of ashier have seen spreaded and the constitution of gifts at the press of ashier have seen spreaded and the constitution of gifts at the press of a brief break constructed at a time when there is no rear datage, to see State has no overfeetful and incompetent buriant crief will chis norther responsible to a prefet full and incompetent buriant crief will chis norther responsible to a prefet against the passing of the Bolland of the responsible to the William of the passing of the Bolland of the responsible to the twist passed tender or resignation.

for less that ander the prevailing constraints, can be of no use to by maple at l. Co. I for closely of with one well respect to common and properly the motion of the representations of the proper in the Conser Charles at for the techniques and scottenests of the people outside to map prior according to the people outside to map the people outside to the people outside to make the people outside the people outside to make the people outside the people outside to make the people outside the people

The resignation turther attesting to Janual's courageous national leaver ship at this time made no apact or Che instinct white Moraegus own influence in London continued to deteriorate Januali had no was at knowing on how an attent a secretary of state he permet has hopes for Indian future and as decised a say for London to seek to persuade his faltering friend to override the government of India B. It is was measured and though their love would never be as strong again and the afternal of the war proved so pointingly from the total service seemed as promising to both of them as it did that winter at the start of 1919.

The Mas in Long at man appearanced I make to end a depetation to Prime Monster Lloyd Going that year or plead for at least one Most one ended to be forthcoming Parks. Per a configuration Most India Most on the most for a largest at Most on the second of the largest at Most on the second of the largest of of t

ng fought for the protection of the rights of the small and defenceless morities. Six Satyendra P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner, 1880-913 had been appointed to represent India at the Imperial War Confermir in 1917 but since neither was Mashin the League feared that Islamic neiths were points should happen to again the League feared that Islamic neiths were points kitalate cuders, including Defens scholarly devout Maulana Mashin Asada, 1887–1985, still under detention without specified across Muslims felt more intensely than ever a sense of communical anarmics of orderlass subjects and promises to protect Islams holy places would be a new that Talka was a defeated them, where at the mercy of this turn victor states, determined to crush it for all time.

the turnal's reacced London in Man and rented a flat near Regent's I to says dithem there included Bonder's away Chaman Lana d fonar's un obshited angliter when telling a frame story variables in the category of a parable "1 One evening in in August, . . . Bettie o the theate but they were obliged to leave their box there is alst a dang terms of Duccess here in Landon In all the on August 14 15 1 AB odd on agh precisely the odisx to be day and her before the barty of senal a other offspring. the language roved as successful however of 1.1 a scates the Mish a case's gursus to Lies I Corgo the and for thinked in no s historities. Montage and Pikoner a onte or Mid at Vesarl s, where Britain and France cornight assumed has a transporting, Syrin and I und ou of the cosa seger (A man Emery) is red, must . If you as taken to all aid the print, genterings to uself espetells since he had come so far and was the "delegate" of the Muslim and the se hat ed aid sespecion of his so recently expressed as a first or a other le ding experts un le l'saificed to , I a last last severtires. More doors remained cosed er o and runn Bon an s new governor George Lloyd. to paises Montage's mine against Jonah, writing of him that [1000 40 "fair of speech and black of heart," a "real irreconcilable," and "of the third who has consistent and not thing and gotto straight away and done the other."3 There were fewer smiles on those pulmet I onder faces he met, as Whitehal, closed ranks behind Simla. Delhi, He had after all, rengued his "honorable" position, Best not chemonge that sort

Min + April, moreover, non-cooperation and violence had spread noress

- Ske brushfire in the wake of auto-Rowlats Act mass protests and the

British massacre at Jadianwaia Bagh Gandbi chose April 6 1919, as the first "sacred" day of a nationwide husiness strike tharta, to protest the Black Acts, which he urged his Sudyagraha followers to "refuse civily to obey" It was a totally nonviolent day but a week later on April 13, 1919. Amribar "Nectar of In nortality" a city sacred to the Sikhs of the Punjah was transformed shortly before sundown uto Ind is first national urban shrine. Two of Gandhis reutenants but been arrested a few days earlier and deported, thus sturing up a profest march toward the British commes sioner's bunga, we in the cantonment Several so diers panicked and opened fire, killing a few marchers and turning the peaceful crowd into a raging mob heat on retainter. They be mid Bit sh banks and attacked a few Fing ishwanter as we has high shown in American and day A Braish brigar dier and his here, were a red in to restore order. The general banned a l Judice meetings. On April 13, when he learned of a meeting of thousands ake g place uside Jal' a waln Bagh "Carden" he drove to that almost not as enclosed site with some of his troops ordering them to open five working there, were of warring to the peacetely assembled count uside It was a Suntany a land test val holiday. The crowd, most's vallayers had one to the city to or enrate. The sold ers fired 1.650 rounds of his grien sation a point outer in age for the remailer at the terror-stricken b man't rgots what bond no existion that raghtmare in the garden leav ing some 400 or saw der aid yer 1 200 wounted. The general and his arm is been a basty retreat as the sea set on the Looklest massacre in Bratish Incian islary which Che majord after termes an 'error of adgment"

"India as got to keep her head coo titles a ast er heal moment. Jinnah advised his readers in in a service, he Bombay Chronicle published on his return home in in d November 1929. "Unless at the next session of the Cogress in December a shoughtful programme is land down by our leaders and accepted by he people a mealer lable amongs if harm would be done to our car se "s I omal; still lest confident that Mr. Montaga will not fail us but termed Chr msfore, s now mistra on "a famore" and argued that "the sooner has a recalled the better for all concerned." As to the prime ministe is "promises" in hehal, of "puor Tirkey" he called those "a scrap of paper and did not believe the Ales stood reads to concede "self Jelem mation and adependence to Arab states. He was however more optimist about India envisioning a true "renaissance" through education commercial me dustrial and tecanical progress and growth, and a aborabized rathers policy Asker fib. aid as "message to to cop as to, Anotsar Conpersons was approved to be at the other course of larged from a part will be a sell of the sevent before Ling what he thought of Montagu's bill then in Parliament, and Gandly opined

cannot say anything about the Reforms Bill. I have hardly studied it by preoccupation is Rowlatt legislation. Our Reforms will be practically worthless, if we cannot repeal Rowlatt legislation. And as I can imagine no form of resistance to the Government than civil disabedience, I propose, God willing, to resume it next week. I Let taken all preparations that are humanly possible to take, against indescence of volcace.

their different approaches to solitical process, Jornah still the control of their different approaches to solitical process, Jornah still the control of their widely divergent paths and them ever touther upart.

I am were to send her real representatives, say half-oliver who to or mopagama work there is east for mack of my by a distantial to a col public on more provide singgested or his Bombay Chron-I saw a great deal can be done. By it is ust be a constitut and it established astrophon carried a by each not ady wan go I saw as las perisanents selled "Was he hoping for such he will He was now a father after all and had to play for his tic, as well as his young wife's India was less secure than de a land to raise a family in than it had been know the terrible as he after a speaking about his decorate more than an it is 1315 and with the front or rimberg, the hinau Leedand the rest of the land poised on the verge of Satyagraha, prospects and that is comed disual No man Butters facility elected, turning to refuse to acknowledge them socially despite the birth of his So the lum of London remained, growing more romantic pe at its permanent realization became less plausible. Jinnah's Bombay receiving more and more of tions and attention, evenings as well as days and often seven days a was tress as Potta soor learned What Little is was left to him, politics committed "Mercurial, dashing, impulfind and some and choosed finds with hore time she could possibly devise ways to spend

the long awaited Viontagu reforms were passed into law as the Covoff India Act on December 23, 1919, the day of King-Emperor

• a myal proclamation granting annesty to all political prisoners,

His Majersty's "carnesi desire at this time that so far as possible any
interness between my people and those who are responsible for my

Government should be obliterated," but the new act fell far short of that mark. Had a come a year earlier jerhaps it would have sufficed to satisfy expectations roused by the war. Though it dist provide some measure of provincial responsibility to coted representatives of India by "transferring" certain cepartments and their revent is to pepular control, while "reserving other more apartum matters to offic. I hands. This newly devised tech risque of ha f and haif rule, called dearchy was Brit in s form the for de volving political power "by sacressive stages" to India. The Central Legislative Council was greatly enlarged into a bleameral just partiament with an elective majority lower house to be called the Legis a ove Assembly. The expense of the secretary of state for linears saids and those of his new states was taken off Joon, a budget and to referred to Parhament as Congress and the Loague demanded. A public service commission was to be established in India, thanks to which simultaneous recruitment to the coveted civil w vices would be a non-New Delhoux well as in Lincolon in 1923 Front, the act provided for faither's autory upp vi ato the working of the system of government the growth cocharation and the development of representative institutions, in British India as to whether and to what extent it is desir black obstaclish the presciple of responsible government. Her ten years. I if these come before he Bow att Act and American surb constitutional concessions would surely have sounder generous and have been more warmty welcomed throughout India.

Both Congress and the M shra League he d annual meetings it Antitises in 197 II ad sM sum atmy was seen by the aleague to be the secret of success, and just of the new y proposed retors, but of all work done by Iadians at learne and abroad, and thanks to the "Congress League Collected of 1976" the major point is obstacle to such antitised been resolved. The Air brothers appeared before the American League to instanting country and reverberating choices of over Moha and this assured his joiness, teams authence that "there was no Government but the Government of Cod. Justials was a coted to present over the League for the Jollowing year.

Jonah coder a special meeting the Numain League that Suptember to Calcuta, where Congress reet as we in emergency session to consider a radical change of political posture caused not only by announced Allicopeace terms but also by harsh, callous British reactions to the Jallianna Bagh messacre and published reports of its atrocious aftermath throughout the Punjab.

We have met here princ palls to consider the situation that has arisen owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Government since this signing of the Armstice First cause the Bowlatt Bills accommuned by the feetpla structive—and then came the spoilation of the

Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the ather our fairb. Now every country has two principal and vital functions to perform one to assert its voice in international policy, and it is either to maintain internat. The lagnest rite is of active and himanity. But one must have one's own administration in one's own hands to earry it on to one's own actisfaction. As we stand in maliant the active is not one of the Missisteriational properties of any other and of the Missisteriational properties and interactional properties and antiageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey and the Countries Continues of Mandates This, thank God, has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can no longer abide our trust either in the Countries of India in or the Countries. It is Mujesty the King of England to represent India in matters international.

And on let us fain to the Pumpit. That Star Chamber Legisla ion issued after the notonous Chairman of the Rowlatt Committee was Light and the Covernment of Lord Chile of ed, and it remited in those "celebrated crimes" which neither the words of men nor the car of women car wish away. An error of judgment, they can be If the last and I gove to the there-are error if padgment it is and they show have a pay for it of got took a they tomestow. One It is us as a is incorporated a and that is not this Government . I go and give place to a completely responsible Government there. I the Congress and the Missingue will not Fret this is a start rk out some coase nore effective. Ind missing . the self-pyroval to be forwarded to the 5-cretary of Start 1 . I to A of a shall sorth find a way even as I tance and alidy the and the new born beauties. We are not going to rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own coun- M. v. Du Fax year of less programme of non-cooper tion, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference, before the countiv. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its juticiple and approving of its principle whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the questions befeer you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances. 10

Rutter sat behind him on the platform, a vivid reminder of all that he personally risked from so revolutionary a step. He would of course, be especifed to give up his licentive legal practice as long as Satyagraha continued, if he endorsed it, which he never did He must I now served now, as that the unique cole of its ng political power he had enjoyed at Luck-

now was starting its rapid descent Gandha's star burned so bright that now lesser for harders could be not be seen in India's political firmament. Jinnah tried, nonetheless, to recapture the position he had held little more than a year ago, eastigating British rule for its broken promises.

Jaman noted how the majority of the rosal commission appointed to in vest gate the Punjab atmost is exonerated the hate crazed genera. Dier and his n mons as "one tore flagrant and diagrace, as assumed that there can be no astice when there is a cor act between a Er clistman and an Indian The Covernment of India with its keer sense of highward and characteristic modesty are adjust transcountly proceeds to forward a resolution in its despatch to the Secretary of State commending its induct blind to the fact that hey were in the lusting of an acciser pass is ade next Now let us turns the great error it adjuncts the redictions finding of the Connect which self s to ess an erect. I guest muntion the Parliament es ea-Of course M. Montaga had a the tracte put bulias case before the House meng a too burn off ring personal exp may one And then the I are and I amoss bloom of long and to their erroring glary carried the rife ions and more flore halay A second Firm of Nat. had proposed homeoring the brianged brigadier Ca all H. F. Deer mice by he lord "Hero of the I air presented with a uree purse and jewe led swore insee and "Sayamor of the Perspals and was backets a orghe Brench diskes say mart sesses, arts on earls ter second to and sevent four barons

"These is the commuter over most and are have met to day face to face with a dangerous and must a precede ted situation. The simplicial six is can and the other test are great. Bet I conside ask he peops to who the grow problems he tried to face rationally doing its selection around real by the grave problems he tried to face rationally doing its selection around the abysis of ever two "Tet", would not ask the Covery great not to draw the people of India to design all on or use there is no other course left open to the provide except of many rate the growalle except of many rate the growalle except of more cooperation, through not necessarily the programme of Mr. Gendhi."

Jimon thus moved as close as ever he dured to the far side of his personal firth of British, ashee and the noblest procuples of Western en beating. He could be take that him, stride no the vac of otal repetion, was ever as Gandhi and tens of minims who tollowers I'm worth to far the world have been a tepth attom of rows of all he stood for all had become I much was no once of a meadana than a mahatana, and could no sooner was to me the last of a reason of a meadana than a mahatana, and could no prison life than Gardhi could be a manufact of the test of a private of the patterns of holl persons as a contract of the take of a contract of the patterns of holl persons as a contract of the rows. I additionally different models to be absented on the count but may be a pattern and that may be a pattern and the story.

resume the perfect prototype of a style of leadership stated to different contollines, attended to different languages and goals fashinged in different or is J much was the mode, of urban Westernized India at its cleanest and his set. Candhi reflected India's ocean of peasant wisdom and village life leads affinite capac to be endure poverty and patiently suffer any hardslap.

1 Calcutta Congress gave Candla has first millor victory for though Count cooperation program was strongly opposed by Rengal's leading pea-(R Des 1970-1925 and B (Pa) 1856-1939 who joined forces I found and Annie Besant against him the Mahatma with the Air - il s and M tidal Nebru ii. s corner emerged with a crear majority at the to lead the march against the government. Klubabat transmiss of is fixed by Bombay's merchant prince Mian Mohaned Chotan, one and a leading supporers, had been alonged cross-country to pack the companied and we efor their book resol tion, rainfor my Congress and the period party. It marked a revention are shift in Congress's if it sort on lower lass mass tonded by seath, sinds Marwar, nd Lokamana Tine ded the day Mah, trup I were the first on joine de Salya, raha A gas, 1 . 920 1 at 1 med than end Car this hap at I was for perhodox a drab tag. In emthe kill that pass August Brought was proper trusted Condit a openly as the agreement as a "chaused of linteed" while Cokhale's moderate not thread of he servants of India Surgety V. S. Srin, ask Sastra I'll a sidered the Mahatma fanest I'Pl rowed as W tita's most ve deeper Direkow F Wache 1844 1936 a leaster of the Posturial Liberal Federation, called Candhi a "madmen . . mad & arro-1. Mantagu, who could not for the life of him understand Candhi's es as say ever the prohaps he butyagraha as well as their may be were sell part if a Bourneyk onspiracy. The to the and the whold the very day Gandhi won he Calcutte subury "The Bolshevike, in their ammosity to all settled government, are using the grievances of the Molammedans, and what frightens me is the was to which Pan Islamism . . . is taking charge of the extremist move-

"Rollonal methods" remained the Subhu's beer goal, and the only one

in the bull mode and Canon went by rai, to Bombay, to atall a Hanne Bule League (Suara) Sabha) meeting there on October 3.

tomally channed that meeting and proposed changing Arme Besant's

regarization's constitution to bring its goals more fully into line with

authorable campanger—"To secure complete Swaraj for India according to
woher of the Indian people." Juanah argued against the motion, insisting

'Attanneut of acif government wither the British Commonwealth.

he could accept. Gandhi remarked that anyone was "free" to "resign" from the Sabha who could not accept the majority's acception. Only sink one mean bers attended that meeting, which had been eathed at short not see but of those less than meethrd, eightee: agreed with annual acked no, his loval Bombay Pars heutenants, the brothers Januadas and kare, Dwarkadas. The defeated majority left the meeting and before months end, Januah wrote with great scrow? To resign from the League he had only led. Gandhi then wrote to seek to was Januah back, asking heat to seek to was Januah back, asking heat to seek to seek to was Januah back, asking heat to seek to seek to was Januah back, asking heat to seek to seek to was Januah back, asking heat to seek to was Januah back.

If by "new life" you mean your methods and your programme, I am afraid I cannot accept the a for a an tull, an need that I am at lead to disaster. But the actual new life that has opened up before the country is that we are faced with a Government that pays no beed to the gravaners feelings and sent merts of the pole that our own countrymen are divided the Moderate Party is still going wrong; that our methods have areas, caused sple aid a vision in a most every institution that you have approached hitherto, and in the public life of the country not only amongst Hindus and Muslims but between Hindus and Hindus and Muslims and Muslims and even between tuthers and some proper general, are desperate a over the results and perestrence programme has for the sometil strick the magina tion mostly of the nexperienced and are the general and the il literate 5 this means immiglet, disorganisation and chaos. What the emisequence of this may be I should be contraptate by I for an am convinced that the stess, a positive Government is the principal convincent to the many cause of it all and unless that cause is removed, the effects must continue. I have no voice or power to remove the cause that at the same time I do not wish my countrymen to be dragged to the brank of a precipice in order to be shattered.

Was that "shudder" of apprehension in 4920 Jumah's first rude awarening to the death knee, of this dream of national leadership and mist? Clearship he had no faith an Candissor his adgment to save finitial from being "sast tired." Was this possibly has first premainted of partition? The only was fethe Vationalists. Just warned it his research give the sast under an work for a programme when it is considered to the earth after mind of complete responsible government. Such a programme can be directly aligned by aligned in a late of the prominion battoms tall lenders in the sountry and in achieve this end I amprominion battoms tall lenders in the sountry and in achieve this end I am

sure my colleagues and myself shall continue to work." While conceding his exact weakness, on the one hand Jonah thus reaffirmed his commitment to the same goal, the same struggle for responsible government through H ndu Muslim mater to which he had devoted homself since long before Lucknow is a counted pride was papable, perhaps more in those concluding remarks even than in his parised confession. "I have no voice or power."

Central India's Naggur hosted both regular sessions of the Muslim League and Congress after Christmas in 1920. That are entitiated strong of the durelyaous servances asees by Nai, Velathba regional or aseas gave both to a new Congress in ser Canobis reversionary enders the Midman first moved his credo resolution at a meeting of the subjects of the on December 38, proposing "the attainment of swaring by the vice of their by all leg to rate and peaced I means. Ji mah it in redutely are ted that it was supported and dispersion or assolve." The British a non-without greater presuration for independence on Canobia argued.

I do not for one moment at ggest that we want to end the British connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India we do not want to destroy it. . . I know, before we are done with this great battle on which we have embarked . . we have to go probably, possibly, through a sea of blood, but let it not be said of us or any of us that we are guilty of shedding blood, but let the be said by generations yet to be born that we suffered that we shed not somebody's blood but our own; and so I have no heatistion in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those who had their heads broken or who were said to be even in danger of toring their lives. What does it matter?²⁸

Human argued as best he could against the resolution in committee, but the fix car too bettains "a war or courage and was someed as well addown in the day As of a eta eat rashed to te end, he new I was proved as Candha before the projection 14,500 delegates who the Superary recent of the Congress test more than two etac number of a new accordance with the Congress test more than two etac number of a new accordance with the superary recent of the Congress test more than two etac number of a new accordance with the superary recent of the superary recent of the superary recent of the data. "Mr Jinnah with the usual took on his face mounted the platform with an ease suggestive of self-millioners and the convection of the main, and opposed in an argumentative, and and clear rayle, the change of creed," reparted the Times of India.

116 was "howled drivin with ones of sharne, sharne and no itical im-

yelled "No. Mahatma Gandhi".3 He repeated "Mister" then finally abandoned any pretace, seeking a way to inject some air of logical reasoning into an atmosphere charged with passionate emotion. "At the moment the destisies of the country are in the hands of two men," Jienah argued, "and one of them is Gandh. Therefore standing on this platform knowing as I do that he communics the major ty in this assembly. I appeal to him to parse to ory halt before it is too, it " in sub-s appeal went unansweren by Gundlahowever as he bous, I sees and esteells of the radience final a drove the author of the Lacknow Pact and ex president of the Home Rule League and the Bombay Co. ference from Lag. Nagpor pla form. As the Central Prouses Corasinstoner Frank Six just accurately reported of the Nagpur Congress to the us and two days later a rad carried no liberies " It was the most buterly ham Laring experience of his in his life left Central Ind a with R, the by the next train, the searing memory of his defeat at Namor are sity en aroutly en around a his broad Whatever hopes he had said of National caparal placer buried that da Canahi had scaled the heights of pre-ticel was not live at presented over the precipion to a new low revited by fellow Mushin Khilafa leaders ever more than by the Mahatima's devoltest. Indi disciples. Sharkat An nates hin, and made no secret of his ser timents whirever he went

Though he had presided over the Muslim League only three months carlier. In all did not even induce to attend as Nagari essain. Fight agoing he for his other has opposition to be to an in Minatal express. He had no more heart for rascous confront time that bitter become or no stormach act for the area he had been the like to warms them such by the finite, of their hable plan to all them boneable of the have he corrects as the part of world be as cashed by and against the suddence polytical masses. We every my kill had Conference having such Congress and Muslim according to the formation of the moment, so Jimah and said silently some—his "career in polyticals left for the moment, so Jimah and silently some—his "career in polyticals absorbles, though hardly at an end

6

Retreat to Bombay (1921-24)

I she withdrawal from the point all stage in 1921 left him totally preoperation with the law the poured all his energy and talent into 1 s work them of his flir decain developed houseft and use night to at demanding mist ess. His quite has been all the Bur or cannells protective as lettern the mose manely field at public left. Sufety removed from he has be well her? as coloring and stand y scarced up durk clouds of the tast and official repression. The death is the mist are central polinic ded with changes to his real constitute. By the mist are central polinic ded with changes to his real constitute. By the mist are central polinical and the constitute of the story of work of the leading and harge and as lower the days of his leading and harge and as lower to the story of mist and the constitution of the engage mass meetings or screets named for the engage was transfer to the constitution of the constitution of

It is trued in a nar, ways to recapture his internst and attention, using it is a light and above pass such But she be anged to its Lucker these these dead armise and after the possible. That mange was behind him, almost as remote and strangely romantic a dream as his larged to the pass of the appart. I produce logal to the larged to the pass of the appart is pread to logal to the appart in the larged to the passe over his briefs every that it remembers her walking into Jinnah's chambers while we were in the intelst of a conference, dressed in a manner which would be called fast every hy modern standards, purch forself upon Jinnah's table, daugling her level and waiting for Jinnah in fluids the conference as that they could leave and waiting for Jinnah in fluids the conference as that they could leave the large in the large and the large and large and the la

work as if she were not there at all." She had not as yet turned to the "spirit you'd' for company still desperately socking friendship among the hying. Sported cance that she had been, once the center of her father's aniverse. having been cost got of that world doubled her demands on her husto id's time. She was obliged to rely work on his burnan support and for adship than most I idian women of her class who usually retained the closest hes with minute it rigs, cousins and all distant mer, sers of the extended ten ly especial at or l'ecorrerg a mother. Rett e had no one Sir Dualiaw never spoke to her again even refusing to artend her finer. gust over a decade arter per marrage. No haspand could have treated his wife more growings," Justice Congrammed sommergia, Jonairy readsonship with But it yet to either well mag be how the baher eight made of boughts temper that have been axed by so come noting so lone! a wife !

annul short, ablic aduress after Nagper cas on rebruary 19-1921 at the Poona servants of Lung son is, which Cold an now femiles much year a distinguished sergit of tookhoos was in fed to see ak in the adversary of as leath famial aschool into an analysis of the that paralisane, one from an helway to the series at solvels has persistently and lebberate vifollowers a palicy last may sear less that a trespect of the coactive and full as some enopression in avenues a consistency than to a serious that hele we are a half no the silver once from a free had been with craws the gitte of lear to such bring himself to for an "Mr Caarlh s trog ramme" on lag it in essential a span and movement "based on "de structive metions 'opposed to the acture of an ordinary mortal like the spe ker'h used and proce ekar her own read ness to reterato the pada stage out in its lead " real putical move on t based on real portical principles this crit up of Gands, though senting, was not total a negative concluding that "Undoubtedly Mr Gundhi was a great man and he Lambin had tore egard for him han a school, else But he chd not belie c in us bogs to se and a count in support to I read ventured to give that were Coknale still alive, he too "would not have endorsed this programme"

The Satyagraha boycott proved less effective than Candh, cevisionec-Britis, courts remained busy as ever hough some Indian are resident ioned are r practices. Schools and coderes communed to function. Most trains can on time Jaks were filled police did not stay stick to a not to army remained entirely to all, the Braish ray that part at Their were your of so since racking a time we of Human Man at an a mat at a 1 to erurable with the mass flight of Masho a to Afghanatan in the automore of 1 Of a last the state of Marian who lough linear neighbors in the moth as well as the north during the rest of the decade "God only knows how often I have errod," admitted Candhi by mid-August 1921 "Those who cast it are will a infamble a simply do not know me . . . Life consists in struggling against errors."4

Chelin stord's sucressor Rules Danie Isaacs 1860-1-35 the first Marquess of Beading, arrived a India on April 2 1921. Ex land chief list on of Barren V cros Reading had much more necumion with fellow hard se ters like Mr. J. man than had cavalry captam Chemistord. Below the end of 1921 Reading enlisted junious assistance in seeking to it pin incs of

communication with political India

Junah attender II. Ahmedahad Congress that December and worked with Bumbay's Liber | M. R. Javakar 573, 1959, and several other for reate readers trying to continue far the to call a hait to Sanjagraha m order to allow and of this to explain the new olders a proprise of the pros social a noname" and or a Re and Toble or over the discuss possible xt sum of dearche to the enter transles pointered has row kal is vicerized offer silent as up the glat" for an as I sale at he has worted that the Mahatma agreed to give Badding a new open banself, but within the bone price of hard by the case ingo of his indice it than bent mants. Candly changed his and it distributes a us I repoint the resident power from I perior Bestshoot the Indian control might have been advanced a full decade and a sulf from he fee el. were that Reading was trying to mas late men I am seem that a seat found Reading of completes the shorten amount tudes for a course," the Makinem, in his provate outer at the time "Was the little year old V sets operable losing confidence in his own authorid at this circum hour of severe tribulation?

t a Maria League also met at Absorbat ad that December, with Minbrill still Moliain, Jineal's meet many presiding It was a now point in the from all they for a 1st Mashes other expended here post as energies to klobelat movement or like Jinnal unrit i raja of Mid idad id, . It a long or r door stall be an approng postwar leaders, p "The a scalition of the large appears to be very year odeed " elimitted sed are codessing "the agague remains with ig more than an old cal-

1 sal convenes ar All-Part es Conference in Bombas for mid-January Al bern; clust an sterent a course o that so as I methis risis . , that not a livery and the metaling in your seas of taxes was the at a of merity searches all the as sai while the out of a contract was appropriately and the state of t Lar and Alone of the action of the contract of

by Mauras Sur Sankaran Naur 1857-1934 former Congress president now law member of the viceroy's council, was called upon Janah it propose the draft resolutions. Those began with a strong condemnation of the governments repressive pours and an equally strong arging of Congress to abandon undecoperation. A compromise resolution is the arch agreed upon called for a flound. Table conference to settle ourstanding differences between the government and his Congress and kindafa, movements. Candlinable descriptions of the conference and successful the conference and successful disposed the conference and the conference an

The Mah that had the with a subjects committee of twenty leaders to help draft he fit a resourch is changing Janaha proposals enough to drive conservative S r Sankar. Nam rop, and char the next day when the new resourchins were able then sook the chair. It resolutions all passed managements for Myson State then sook the chair. It resolutions all passed managements had considered the deap of a coefficient of the passed considered the deap of a hound Table conference. The developers and considered the deap of a hound Table conference. The developers are such a resolution to the new that a region is resolution to the new the fate in monthment them had a region. It was a resolution statement of the resolution of the new the fate in monthment there is no had a region of Salangrahar, constructed Gandhi that his countryment were not ready for a nonviolent accommendation of the Provinces over many of 1922, the Vishint managed a halt to the satopang the had to recent with such a fillence. Took has been abundantly lend to me he wrote at this time.

the has warried must be third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful ind not collect atmosphere which act did do let alone can just a mass disobetioner when can be a all described as a view which means get the might be callet knowing with at loving never rounted and hate..... Gud spoke crearly through Chauri Chaura."

Soon after this about face by the Mahatru. Januah and Javakar met with him, the tier noting hat Jimmitis "strong disske of Gandhi" grew some "mantrest" is each of their meetings? I manedrates following news of the violence at Chauri's huma. "Jenuah and Sir Horenigh) Wadda's freedment of Gandhi was most discurredus. 2 Little more than a year wife. Nay mit then it was Gandhi siture to six above he better notion of him nation. It was no sweethers in an effect of the first of the detect of his organization. The detect of his organization of the latter of the survey of the detect of the survey of the survey of the detect of the survey of the s

snatched from his brow before it could settle there, were ashes. Like those wretched dismembered corpses at Chauri Chaura, his countiess hours of patient bombor negotiation, and careful Calcutta furnimation it parliaments by schemos confirmed at Lucknow had gone up in the smoke of Negour's highest of wild enthus ason. For what Now it was even too late to bring heading round again to where he had oven just a few mouths before. Why should any vieurous in his right mind to got also a new constitution after many and abject surrender? Jinna's "discourtesy to Candhi was heady empressing.

By mid-1922 Junah was trying to organize a new moderate party from a neithe would have executed. Grand cut may speak it, but have strongly estable that the price Javasar and Motiva. Neithe to substitute in the substitute of the both coolined "this leaving Junah is credition as foreser to grees find allowages. The old Ammassadors to get a commonal and brook down Juna cipo the Look that arise trustion at this lone were compounded by use allowed from the first Kathalat as ship as well. The Ab prothers are Monaina Azaid possiblered but a part is not be got eronners and victor. Our first tent as well as said for the got eronners and victor. Our first tent as well as said for the got eronners and victor. Our first tent as well as said for the said in the said that an interpretable to the said of the said

One right in May (1922) I had a dream in which I saw Ruttie lying accurate chapted of fish oned sofa and in that item I have said "Kanji, help one." Next morning as I woke up I remonstrate from a large in the content of it. The exchapt he is the appeared . . . including Rutties call for help. . . . On the 3rd afternoon of about 5, returning from office and without rebering the dream I called at Juniah's "South Court" . . . I had seen Ruttle for some weeks and this was the first time that I went in that is bouse without a previous appointment. As I got out of the content in the court of the content in the content i

We kept on talking and Jishah returned home from his Chamber at about 7.30, asked me to luye a drink with him and to stay on for dinner. I said I was there since 5 a clock and I did not stay for dinner.

That Septemper Ruttie left Bombay with her daughter pets, and nurse for London Kanp sent her a bouquet of heautiful roses from Phona's Linpress Cardens as a 100 voyage gift, and Buttle wrote to thank fam from ber P & O cabin before reaching Aden, on hoptember 25, 1929. This I always give me pleasure to hear from you so thin ever have a superplionis moment on your hands on know how now and she gave her London address adding somewhat empheals at wis find me it I don't lose in self-And ust one thing our grand tex I shall and out one how he is he has a all the submails over working hower final now that I am not there to nother and tease has no will be wers, than ever " ! If a perception of his "habit of h officially over working himself while concluded man wiles langoings of consecut revealed the rigrowing solution from one another. As didher cos no conce to her own demands now his tors as in their and times I'm A streak of gray emerged now from the muche of Locales forehead visual proof it how his how say at the above sported his hands one was know in 1st who and part yes from this era there's now have sing this cress to rained activities and a was aways more see such of grav-Black or navy his

In Septement 1923, Janual issued at appeal to Med in voters of Bourbay. The distance of the second state of the second state of the second state of the cardial test of the cardial test of the second state o

Rat ried to see more of him after she returned from abroad his nothing she afternoon as Joinah and Chagla were going out for lauch

Mrs. I mak drove up to the Town Hal in Janah's interious amousine, stepped at with a fillin basset and curring up the steps
state.

1. Plant is how she called him gives what I have
brought for you for hand. Jonah was red. How be hit I know
and she repeat from touch with a force, is said to be
justified a fill a men of the late of the late

ghost of a chance of being circled?" At this, Mrs. Januah's face fell. She quickly took back the tiffin basket ran down the steps, and drove We decided to go to Comag as, which was a very wealknown restaurant in Bombay Jumah progred two cubs of coffee. a plate of pastry and a plate of pork sausages As we were arrow ing our coffee and enjoying our sausages, in came an old, bearded Musiam with a count, boy of about ten years of age probably his grandson They can and sar down near on a). It was one post that they had been directed from the Yours H I. I then saw the boy's hand reaching out slowly has areast by towards the hale of book so isages. After some hes tations he picked up one, put it is him tageta, in which it and weight to orgon it the windows. I wate all this in-After som time they eft a d I heat turied o he at d a stanged. Chara you should be ashamed of source f "I said What cold I do" amon askers I've dare so a low the young boy of processing and Lange from his hid to use a military at thes at top speed, a come of a punck deep on. The quastion was he ld let I much lose his election should, let he boy go t laterdame ation? And I decided a your tayout "to

or h never permitted reagons tabons to after his castes in food or le a 1 for his post a time his wis more seignisse to an conferns and where it of houses. Mistings, Not that he abandonest his commitment to ca tetern and national independence or ret sed to coopera e with 16. 1 . . . ad al. other laid as As ate as 1925, at fact . re great hed to be a Making dahase who had without come to think of houself M i face at his steet. My now no you are no Indian first and the Man and the world sever large of underestimate the poapartament de la la la la contrata Mary sons had sec a sia no sec in Name of the form the public bemilia on an iper-I then I have feet drive from back neeper into be uself and to the on noty the still valied his active. That helped him grow in la v different ca. A new phase it his po treal life had on an tracaserul y another reate He lad er who very ligh, and too melfuly. Were it not for the rope of his separate electorate constituthe late large ereturn This time he would cut each behold with great care, cleaving to the rock that sustained him.

7

New Delhi (1924-28)

Britisl Ind i's newly elected National Assembly met for the first time in New Host abouty to 1924 Jonah waster, trace subox of twents three "independents" to curter with how moved stell after the sicerox's operate add as I germs aegot afor practical portician that he was, he navages o define a pragram of fixes retorns that he convinces as his prima come entengues of per forces and work toward achieving. He was then in austrian to go to Mata a. Nebro and C. R. Das, offering to merge I s. powerful swang how independent votes with their ihreality of forty ino Switt you are it also who got a out to phasens of thirty six official appointers who lever they wished A new Scalar salest party was that benth which he assembly overlag it, another flooding's amost ment and doma-This sowerful Indian blue of elected representatives committed to achiever; dominion states and felt, response to previous government at the ear test possible . It has been conjured into existence intracaiously it served from the disparant drops of armendrals who possed no threat no political the onge to office dop: If the end to be welding fire of Jamah's brishness alchemy so he repeated it Ven Dean much the same feat of peation and cation he had wineved at Lucknow. Only the magic tormula and not ex- id as far this time, nor last quite as long.

man's assembly sentegy bere froat in February. 924 when a resolution on substitutional reforms recommended to early saminoral of a Rouse Table of terror and decreared to the potential of the right and rests of a proper and a sentence of a decreased with a view to establish full responsible Government in India. That resolution curried by a vote of 78 to 48, and as a result, burd R adappearated a Reforms Lagrany Commission, chaired by House member we

Alexandez Muddunan, Jusuah served on that committee with four other Indians. Madras Sir P S Savaswarm Anyer 1864-1946 president of the National Libera. Federation Poona edicator Dr R P Paran aye 1877-1869. All ahabads barrister Sir Tej Baladur Sapru. 1875-1849. and the Pusiah Sar Mahamman Shafi, and mention of the government of India. The committee soon cause to be referred to among the coefed members within the assembly as "the Jinnah Committee." and attacked a national demand manority report by he sears end out official reason of the growing flectiveness and escalating demands of his a derivative of directiveness and escalating demands of his a derivative of directiveness and escalating demands of his admittable to depart the kelonian ling of Committee reports the signellohag Jinnah y resummentations.

The Pakistan convenient and its angular in pact in recent ladian bis ory base traded to obsture Junious positive contributions to the evolution of in laministary government in India Much of bis time and talent however as shed in task in ing logislation arguing for or against biog, coins, a fitting to keep officials as well as a local and enlargence interaction, young Jist as Cooking base occur for the Courter larges of the Courter of the authority of the line bis assentage parks, to most record on previous error occurrent to the product of the most record on the latter parks at the previous distribution of a lower and expressing measures when the response in second, to the agreement continues, strongly apposed a officialdous Johnshie and White to the difficulty? It is only an excuse, it is the same old storal, an east "What is the difficulty? It is only an excuse, it is the same old storal, and one of the other or or or one of the other of a science of a science digit of this Horis. On or

nto crease, rents of a serious character I see there is absorbely no petro tam. And to a be proposed to require passports for energy into I and a median regular ons which are the loggest massaice and the sounce they are done away with the better."

d 1924 he i troduced an important resolution that went to color at a today by a struggle for scoronic acceptationes, massing this the government of India be allowed to purchase its vast and valuable "stores" does not make a superfect that any through sternar over Member of the House, it being a very dry subject," Jimah began at over Member of the House, it being a very dry subject, "Jimah began at over Member of the House, it being a very dry subject," Jimah began at over Member of the House, it being a very dry subject, "Jimah began at over 1 have no doubt that when Houseurable Members understand this question ... they will realise that it affects India most vitally "a He then reviewed the history of some seventy five years of imperial purchases that inhibited Indian economic development, concluding "it gives a fremendous advantage to the British manufacturers who are on the spot, who get the information first and invariably it is really for all practice surposes con-

fined to the tenders coming from the British firms in England." Moreover Jamah argued that during the war necessis, dictated the purchase of many stores in Inc. a Jinnah's root attor carried and probable did more to stimulate Incl.a economic description in prior of independence than any other measure passed by the assembly

Januah remained a great civil abertarian always ourspoken in defense of individual rights and equal assure. For he inserted, on whalt or readmitling the deported educatof the Bombay Chronics. B. G. Hornman.

I do mainteen, and I have counts acrep at the fountain of constitutional law has the herby of a axis the degrees tring as the law of any constitution and tishould not be taken axis in the lish on. If you have any case if Mr. Hornman is soon after an office a law have before a trid and it is peak very fee hads because I feel that no man should be deported and creamy once a such tabricated all gations not tress which, to law kin wiedge are absolutely take?

That September in Suma. I much restricted his first beset in "this principle that no mass prosect, or here should be true and without a judicial trail." In the stage mention at the stage destination of the stage destination of the stage destination of the stage destination of the mass for more part of the stage destination of the stage desired of the stage destination of the stage destination

This May Jan is provided over a special serious of the Mushin League in Labore. Since one consequenced of 1923, it was real zero and admitted that the triple has often was a for one area, that the mass Civi. Deschading could not us an ortsken successfully in the mark future. January argued His return to write points at fee as dimensioned his recent personness.

Boycott of Councils as desired by Mahatma Canethi was far from being effective or seeful the Kickelia regarization, which was carried on could not charmany better position. The result of the stringer of the east three years has this to uncredit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Sugaraj for India. There is a featness and possistent demand that steps must be taken turning mediate establishment of Domanon Responsible Covernment in India.

And returning to the home he stressed since first aiming the League of 1913. Jinnah carturned India never to forget that ne assertion require condition to not recognition from the Search procedule to the home rechange to the home section to not be supported Responses. Concentration as the supported Responses.

united. Swarof is an almost interchangeable term with Hindu Muslim unity. $^{\prime\prime}$ 100

The Mushm League resolved at this important meeting to work for Suraray defined as a federal mion of provinces "fully automomous," except for a man mal number of central government anactions, of general area common concern." Full religious liberty, was to be "guaranteed to all communnatics and "separate electorates a re-to-remain for author Mushus, since joint electorates were deemed a source of discord and disunion, as well as wholly undequate to achieve the object of effective representation." Nor was any "bill or resolution affecting "any community" to be passed in "any legislature or in any lift of elected bod," if there-four lift their community's , lected members opposed it. The Lengue also appointed a special con-it tree headed by small to frame, scheme for a constitution for the government of Incha. Viewing with great share, the dimorable bit or ess of teeling at present existing between the I ad is and Mos to any the I rague further resolved to coopyrate in ex-x dishing "e-mediator baurds" on which a airhers of all communities could meet regularly I resolve communities. sees and tre to aller are causes it outsit Jonah inc. of the above resoluions as well as one deph-ring, the present or indulous state of disorgar izaun existing a rang M st is it all spheres of exist a not oils prevents as health, otter-hange of an ox and co-orneration for the good a bi Corand but aso set ones hundre up the Muse his in shouldering their proper the of responsibilet ... in hat on I struggle for progress and selfoverment. One or after an to dende "interp solderts among the Musalmans of Irdia and nother also claimed by Janah, would confer a th the Centra, Khdafat Committee Jar on a as elected "pernovent" presi-. It of her League for the next lives have a give month in to carry out this a treas plan of resitalization of Musliv India Three vears was not enough, but it was a beginning.

the cornerstone was all steel out of the Khulafat movement by Turkey's fee ident Mustafa Kemal Ata urk 1881-1933 who formuly aboushed the identification (letter 1954). The fall of the audia from that stattered pillar of the earlier of additional that stattered pillar of the earlier of the e

Each flarry led to more retal atory raids, provoking f. Al-fledged riots, leaving countless dead, wounded, and embittered

Motilal Nehru, as head of the Swarajist faction within Congress (Dasfed wortally in 1924, was Gandhas only competter for teadership of that organ zation. In August 1924, in a "Very Confidential" letter, the Mahaims wrote Morilal to inform him that he was "prepared to facilitate your securing the Congress machinery, actually assisting you to do so," and be party to vote call ling, claiming no interest in would "In no case ary time his promoting a peacetal atmosphere" and adding it you are not prepared of ake over the whole or the Congress machinery. I am plate prepared to tacilitate volus taking over those Provinces where our think you have no difficulty in our ong to Almos as an afterthought nowever in the very same sittle Canabi named those who, have been asisten that he [Gandhi] should become president himself, concluding: "The only count tom that will make me reconsider me position would be voice desire that I should accept. Will you please consult Messrs. Das, Kelkar and others and let me know what you would advise?"(a

The Mahatman continued boycott of all councils undermined Monlar materials with the Onlarge true Assembly and Congress Canadle had put fell a a state set of for all postal inflorence is the Swarzists that Min and long that Congress true try is necessaled with Non-congression as Longeolive it has

Mottfal was thus faced with the need to choose, by mid-1924, between continuous active assertally at once with from and risking the oscol Cardhi's confidence and erosion of his Congress position, or moving the other way. It was not an easy decision. The elder Nehru wrestled with a all sammer in ting Gancia to stay as his guest at the family beach horse in But gys via carrie August trying to convince the Mahatora of U. nation-building utility" of Swarpist work within the assembly Not Life son, Jawaharlal, who was Congress secretary that year, joined them those vacation summits but recalled that he and his father "did not sur and In winning Gandhiji, or even an influencing him to any extent." The Vihatma's only match for stubbornness in recent Indian history was Jun "Behind all the friendly talks and the courteous gestures, the fact remainthat there was no compromise," wrote the younger Nehru. "I also rett from Juhu . disappointed, for Candhiji did not resolve a single one of doubts. As is usual with him he refused to look into the future, or bay down any long-distance program."16 [awaharla] rightly called it a tug-of-war for tween his father and Car dh.

Capitulating to Camillo's position, Motila, got his assembly Swarnjish in agree after read-year to "theow out all proposals for legislative case. Sents

which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its power." While admits it is conceivable that some good may incidentally result from a few of it is easilier. Mottal masted, we are clearl of opinion, has a the larger of cert of the country it whether to temporarily sacrifice such of the bundits it has add an out to the powers of the bureaucracy. "That "Swarajist is not presaged the death of the Nationalist party for juniah and his inglicity presaged the death of the Nationalist party for juniah and his inglicity and to consider each motion on its merits voting for or against measure only because they believed it might advance or retard the economic or constitutional development of India.

La visit to Bundar, that some er, Cardla spoke to the "Parst che' lee or The die to rease for each Waln's e from a por King a Dwarf or del the proving and walked on Funah's Nagpar footsteps additional as Muster and noting that a great deal of those work had on der the month of "Malatina" key was for evilock ad from the form of "Malatina" key was for evilock ad from the form of the form o

The aird "Mahatma" strikes in my nostrills and in addition to that secrebody anists at the room trace call he "Mahat." I get manera, I do not wish to five. Had I not known that the more I insist an the word "Mahatma" not being used, the more does it come into wegue, I would more certainly have insisted. In the Ashram where I will be d. Inother and sister has orders not to use the word "Mahatma".

the resest or came to a jub-ic appropriate jamath for which had mapter N and access tour year carlier at must have known that Knapt fill topout what he said to Mr and Mrs. "]"

Huttite saw almost as much of Kanji by now as she did of her busy has been also been also been also well have been also well had been and thought transference Wrote Kanji "Ruttie was on rested in contacting the non-physical world and she made difficult of dangerous experiments to verify has beliefs and convictions. Since the first hand knowledge." I just how difficult or "dangerous" her "experients" were is unclear but she seems to have been taking drugs for some time, initially to help her cope with insomine and depression perhaps the morphitise hashish, and cocatine were, of course, endily available in part of frambay. She wrote Kasiji in November 1924.

There is a matter about which I am most anaious to speak with you, as I think you can help me. Lately I have been very anoth drawn to-

wards the subject of Spirit Communication and I am most auxious to know more and to get at the Truth. It is such an elusive Subject and the more I hear of it the more puzzled do I become, though still more passionately interested. I have some sort of an idea that you must be cognisant of spiritual circles in our City, whose Seance one may join I don't profess any creed nor do I subscribe to a belief, but . . . I am too deeply immersed in the matter now in give it up without some personal satisfaction for I cannot content myself with other peoples' experiences . . . I would prefer my identity, however, to remain unknown while you make enquiries. And I sincerely hope that you will be able to assist nee.

A month later. Butthe wrate agains to remain that What I sun after as a Sea at solven led by some experienced and are as I as most at some orget a press and expensive of this matter is which I so passionally be the I solven if I leven in the I le

"My dear Karyl," she wrote the following April, "Yes, I know of the arear traves of which in speak B r I r a r a dre mag to my waking hours. There is itlary, would wildow a sile greater trave is that y, would wildow a sile greater training training that a experience of the serit to will a vote effect to the man of had diaglobe size there is no cueen, at take the five or at most six hours rest. . . a restive mind, and a correspondingly restless physical state. I don't dream excepting very rarely." She was now twenty-five years old. My soul is no congete and though I aspire and crave God knows how canness my acceptance to the man function had been a peculiarly restlessent with an area of his proposes could a rest only assistance. "

She ned her best to a puse her aspane's interest in in hings. Whit and to report to Kanp, she even thought she had succeeded.

La a slowly but stress drawing. Is retered into the matter and by alternate bullying and coaxing I got him to read that book "The Spirit of Irene", . . . I had to admit that it was remarkable and unefortable. . . The incident dears with the tracing of a murder—it revolves round a poor girl—a cook—who was decayed from London to Boscomb and then done to death, the details of the crime are borrible, it having been a crime of list. The police being haffled by the cuming of the man, were at their wits end, or you may be sare they would not have consented to hold Sounce. Anyway they got the needed clue and the evidence was of such a nature that the unfortunate man was lunged. . . . I was not at all events able to find any way in the runn "2".

One can hardly imagine Jinnah devoting much time or attention to "Irene" His legal practice alone remained so demanding that Ruttle added in this letter of April 12, 1925. It does a look as I we were going to Kashmerc after al. as J is engaged in the Baw a case " wan, kept her well supphed with books of a kinds, his own oferary reviews, and plays she speerally enjoyed Noel Coward. Throughout 1925 hr saw her regularity three or four times a week. Dina was now six, and Kanji tried to convince Ruthe to send her to school in Mauras, at the madije arties of Mrs. Besta, is Theosophical for, is I much resisted that move sens up no doubt that it would further abenate his daughter from her own con punity. He may have feared he would soon "lose his by caughter as Sir Dinshing and list his ha fune 1925. Buttle was Diagram and wrote dear Karin as It was pourting 2 4 M. I must ghtfelly used and sweps but the thought of you has ng come to mo I simply had to crawl out of bed to write to int-to eas my conscience if not my else Will you excase me and let me get back now "22 She told timen in Jan that she would go with Knip to the Three a treat Sucrety's Tabilee Convention in Madras that December The Mish's Long. world wet in Algal, the way o have been or and as a reasoph in Mrs. lesapt at the prodec but hen But a sout "fe it" or a to her d porture week Shrid I however meet Anne Besant at Adyar hefore wars ead and the order woman emperit is a penerved how unhappy" she was, rooving Kanji's anazement of that verdict with. Don't you see inhappings her eyes? Look at her."

Despite his rise a mers of interest. Cas the flavor did pres de over he is gress in 1985 but as he insisted and as a to succession press of the inest meeting. The 1921 census figures revealed such apid growth by Mash as a both wings of the intribute to were now a majority in the Prop. 2.54 biggreent, and in Bonga. 52 percent. This develops of a malatid de nands for renegotiating the Lacknow Pact formula, with the length of the lacknow process no longer will be in the action of the lacknown process no longer will be in the action of the lacknown process. The action of the interest of the lacknown process of the process of distributed by the Muslim League from Congress, even as Muslim distillation with Candidan methods of non-cooperation grew.

It was Bleading's final year in India. The vicercy valued Jimah's asseme and help of the both of the barane and December on the curvated list he was recommending for to glythood, if only Jimah would agree to accept that honor. "I prefer to be plain Mr Jimah," he replied, "I have level as plain Mr. Jimah and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jimah," Mr. Buttle reportedly responded to a query of how site would like toung addressed "Lady Jimah," by shapping—"If my bushand accept a long it hould? with take a separation from him." The latter course may have been an option she contempated by now It was one she would at an interested a new years after even though Jiniah was never kinghten. His increased conservation and growing Islam in consciousness contributed to the incrongical gulf that divided them. There were more personal gulfs as well. He was practically fift, she was half that age and they were attained to inferred harmonies. No that we ever stepped bying her he hoped in fact that they might reciping the two kines are of their early vears in the spring and summer or 1926 when he took her abroad with him on a tour that included London Paris. Canada, and the United States.

Jamel had been appointed to the assembly's Sandburst Committee in 1925 chained by here are, when his sufficient mant General Sich ancrew Skeen, countils, he tear by the of event ishing in "tary independent of martin lindia. He was one of three lindian subcommittee members invited to indepthe to independent of independen

Ka ties hear b debrioracca rapidly a ter their trip abroad. "I suppose we in I have our moren's of relationary and moner to when even thing scorps to be impending and yet nothing happens a sort of waiting mond and or sit waits and waits and grows districtful of the she wrote her best friend early in 1927. I am always glad when the come So don't piraseasily wast of any aut heng strong cheagh and well enough keep at away . . . P S. I am quite a right again and were it not that my feet are ugly and swoder. I should be getting about as usua. As it is I go a line at my friends and to-night I am going to emenia-in bedroom slippers as no shoes are large enough to account or atemy elegan and also kelf of Har X-rays taken and find that the broken needle is still there, so am trying to make up my mind to undergo another operation,"46 She lavished most of her time and emotional energy now on her numerous pets, eats and dogs, each of which she pampered, nursed, and treated as a child. For unlike Dina, who was out all may at school or prosecutived with Iriends, the pets were occaulture to foodle, spore and project all of her feelings and fears upon

The Muslim League's devoted secretary, Sved Sharnsu, Hasan, wrote that "After the slufting of the League Office to Delhi in February 192" I acted as a sort of chambernain to the Quand Jimpan, whenever he visited Delhi, His relations with his wife. Mariam Ruch, a Muslim name,, were osand he resided alone sometimes at the Cecil tranged during this period one of Old Delhis best hotels or Maiden's and sometimes at the Westera Courts, the accommodition provided by the Government for the menhers of the Lagislative Assembly. He was not as earch, about his health as in other matters. The Delhi winters did not suit him, and he often suffered from severe attacks at cold and fla La spile or his poor health he attend of the Assembly and devotes now of his time and energy to political activities "2" This may have malked he beginning of the coroplex and compounded and grant burg disease that would ake his fertwenty one years later. Was it contend nee that Jamah's powerful constitution should case suddenly started to deteriorate the # H's spariet in the Rs. c. vas sures a severe blog. Her burgs and bods were note offerer that his acid too frail to survive mother two years. And if combinat mod il high softers, known are fall ast the me levels his library labor of his to then the bond fides of an experial system to had decays maked as a rably wounded him. He would never breathe early again.

For Jadia as a whole as we last a mail personal st. 327 & s. y. of a tered hopes and drea s. A fun treater and expan I s not Min agree congression and given wings to soming values by exact at at s. In the on or status, or leper lener. Surray signed more remoted over the ree chapt of State Lord Bekenheau 1672-1931 and one are a ne knew the row rule sof Westproste, pract were marketed taking thore all a nore determined to be in their bound of 1870 W. 1 fer al tile and le as 1. Rat isas MacDonald's Labour opportion was grown a grouper with to seaction of rather than wait for the mevitable Labour victory the world come in 1929, the Tory cabine decided to tump the gen av ap-, the own Royal Statutors Commission in 1927, carrying and the hanto of the 5-1 of 1929, or 1 her are the deadline expired to chart the "next in constitutional advance for India Birkenhead could now choose the weekly of that mighty commission and appointed his barrister friend. Mr J Simon (1873-1954), and six other Englishmen, all equally uninbotteril about Ind a 4 Reading's successor as viceroy, Edward Wood, Lord later Hulifax) (1881-1959), more sympathetic and sensitive to Intechings, had arged the appointment of at least two Indian members on this blue-ribbon body, but Birkenhead wanted his "jury," as he thought of them, to do their research in India "sethout any preconceived prepaditio," at Jumah had written the viceroy in June cap heally to warn burn that "the

NEW DELHE (1924-28)

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personnel of the Commission is far more important than any other factor in this matter. In Had he hoped o be appointed himself? Most probably He was always generous in nelping government with his time and deep inderstanding it what reeded to be do to to reform function constitution, and work was his only solare now Doubly better was the draught of reaction Jinnah was obliged to swallow then with the rest of India's gnored and wasted leadership, which was so publicly rejected, resudanted that November by Lord Birkenhead's ly write at As first to de impassioned voice India would respond. Simon, go back when the commission reached Boulhay's port February next, its years of projected labor doomed, torpedoed neture It over got indiaryay, by the pigheadenness of a narrow minded letters of traperia imagingers who purther selfish intrests above the needs, aspirations, and finat demands of most of humankind.

The Muslim meague divided over the Simor Commission issue. A small group, most a trough the Pata are hard up both one at Law Monster Shafi and met in Labore where they voted to weacome and cooperate wall the commission Most actingers of the meague is control however joined the Juniah Croi." In Calcutta, meeting or meeting a second however joined the Juniah 1928. Annu Besant and Sampin Naidu attended as homored guests and the Ag. Kuan was to manured seed for the the witnesses at homored guests and the Ag. Kuan was to manured took his place and delivered his jies denta and essentie pore in Urda. The most reports it resolution carried in acclaim to a declared "on-plastically that "the Statistics Commission and the proceed are a announced are unnecept off to the juopee of India. It the Jonah League I therefore resolves that the Missale are throughout the courtes should have not any to do with the Commission at any stage or in any other three years and thundered.

A constitutional war has been declared on Great Britain. Negotiations for a settlement are not to come from our side. Let the Government sue for peace. We are demec equa partiaers ap We will resist the new doctrine to the best of our power Jallianwalla Bagh wits a physical butchery the Simon Commission is a butchery of our son's By appointing an exclusively whit Commission Lord Bricketh, all is declared our unliness for self-government I welcome Ponth VI Lord La leading Congress Hindu in attendance), and I welcome the hand of fellowship extended to us by Hindu leaders from the platform of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabhi. For, to me, this offer is more valuable than any concession while the Britash Government can make Let us then grasp the band of fellowship. This is indeed a

bught day, and for acherving this unity, thanks are due to Lord Burkenhead ²²

The outgoing Tory secretary of state thus achieved in a single act more than Candhi and Jinnah along could accompash at the peak of their popularly and powers momentarily at 11st requiring a country still bleeding from communal wounds breathing fresh life into the all out abandoned quees of boycott and non-cooperation, and or nging Gardin. Jinnah the Nehrus and even out Aut or Bessaul back in to harness at the head of a single cass national movement rise well to react. Burkenhead, Samon, and the morally bankrupt company they represented.

Calcutta (1928)

the ophoria Janah feet at the start of 928 was to dissipate long before the core and Las p., was a brief remission. By pears and the castle of July Modern mat. Limit on shifting sames if command mistrust, suspicious and doubt would be way of away by tides of traitation and discontact the fore was no true turning mass. Testoration of that beauty cluster in our Ningpe. It would a momentum of a soin Javab experienced, assessed as the emorphic, of Berkenbewes contempt for all Indian politicism. However, in the properties of the public true in the properties of the conflicts with Congress contempts of the mode in conflicts with Congress contempts.

In neducity, flor Calculta, Jimush rotte, ed to Bombay to organize the resett of Simon in d his cause ission's imminist outly there Jimush ichained the rate by Boyland Chagla, was is secretary. "I must say Chagla recalled "Jimush was as firm as a rock as far as the juesties of he boyloot of the Caronssion was concerned. Proposals were soften as the operate should in only political and not see a Jimush would not ugive and did not give an inch. He said a boyloot was a boyloot and it must be total and only of the Ne held many meetings in concernion with hoseottermpaign. We had a mass meeting at the Chawpatty sands."

Simon arrived on February 3, 1928, and Jinnah's boycott proved total effective shall swrate in "tender us congratulate a to the organizer for the very great access to ache to the data continuous tase. It that make no good to see I be crass, and perfect is not Congress and congress and together or the star particle form." Birkenhead had binefed Simon on the over of his departure. I make he were to the continuously on the relief on the non-boycotting Moslems, on the depressed enormountly, on the continuously of the star of the continuously.

coit. You and Simon must be the judges whether or not it is expedient or these directions to us to make a breach in the wall of antagomain. * Official don, cracked nowawall, as vergeance as the nation wide poycott proved more officitive than Birkenbead dreamed it would be.

The primacy of Janah's rise in this hoscott was inderscored by Birkenheads singling him out as the seader to be undermined. If should dovise Suran to see at 1 stages in or any people who are not boycotting the Commission. Birkenhead sized from part which Mosteria and the depressed classes. I show dividely advertise to bis interviews with represents we Mosteria. The then announced, as taldly as a bad ever been put into writing by a british calieral, he whole policy of the destinguers, advising that Siman's "obvious" goal was "to treatly the inverse like all appellation by the apprehension that the Commission is being got hood of in the Mosteria and may present a report along their destinative of the Himan institute. Thereby scentring a solid Misser, a special and case is I mad high and dry "o

On February 12 Journal attends to the All Photos Conference chaired by Congress president Austra in Delh. Mor al met Javabada, were there as were Lagrat By Malay a swakar and most of the other eaders of potion Is he Candled Last at discreme ned at his Sahari into ashram, placing as he did so little faits a coust at many many. The concernee, " wever was convened a da just that seeking to provide a sough lind a deveative to what ver us total Station and the others might for not "The is a pestion discussed by the Confedence was the abjective to be mered at in the prostition It was proposed that the it is dictor should aim at esa biong what is called a dominion form of government in india. Objection are lower by some men are to his or the ground that the Congress had he ded in favour of independence is the goal and no lesser goal should be some at " Jan. do. 1 a Nehru uni as Conga as presio at 5 Stranges Tverger 5.4 1941 and the latter group differing storp's from Mathal as well as I had on this proof. The form da Grails agreed pon was to frame a condit i or "for the establishment of fel responsible government." The probhar of Music reglets and representation was easily resolved. Wranging and the contact for over a week till "The situan was too great for no sa l 1 fi I to a o d . it ar insurrection. Jawaharla reported to Candb: 6

had started before the All-Parties Conference was over, and he convinced a most of the legislating of the Transport of the legislating of the transport of the legislating of the transport of the dealers. The finite and appears to the conference had begun, however, it ended without agreement on any Muslim question, Jayakar, Malaviya and Laiput But wanted to diminute asparate electorates or frely, yet they were surveiling to concede any of the compensating constitutional

changes Jinnah demanded in return. Jinnah's position on separate electorates had asways been equivate. They were a necessary evoiche sort of protection required by Mushims on visions, as the community remained too weak and toy educational, backward to aspire to navy ing approximing equality with Hildus. There were liowever ways of assuring Mushims sufficient real sectority and constitution. Heverage to make such advantage action cruckes dispensable Jinnah had indeed formation just such proposas in 1927. They were useful to the theorems they are useful to the library and "substantially accepted" by Congress in May of 1927.

Those De by Mexim In pasais, as they came to be cauled agreed to the that relies or joint electorizes i after certain could note ". This streetly cond tieral concession and the proposals to a todower were like the Lucknow Pact on the proceeds of a each's orgenious constitutional lawvers mind He was an oally also longer two a lane leading Mexicos meloding conservatives like Shaff and Abe a Rehamm, to agree to abandon up the League's arguments executionic for markon stone which gave Mus me alone the right to vote for Mr si m cand dates and si in ld have old go hal. Shahaa pol neights to appeal to the ster elections of their countries to full ac contests Might as may been of Max and dates would stal have to be elected a all provinces where Mayor a remained monor that as above, the Luckness Pact but a ritury acres of the dustreament of would be required in such Mish is majority province. Sher eves car dislate would be addigen to apreal to seat electorates for a proof they would all have to tone down if not entropy tished from narrow compressed of texts, and run only on that cond saves and peak one often a secular interests of economic developmere and reform ALM salveance times neeted under such a scheme might conveyal, se congressmen, or kirchit dats, rather than Muster seaguers I was a how putical concession and propert how broad and so fless Julians commitment to signal principles and the goal of helping likha attain had independence remained

Not were the constitutional concessions he dee anded in return any less appropriate the glattes would have given Mislar majorities outrol of three new fill provinces and the Poorth-West Poorthe and Baluchs of and the proportional control to a general divide of the receil population strictes in which generally and provinces, governments the freight and Balugal Sind has I (1) and provinces, governments the freight and Balugal Sind has I (1) and the provinces of the first and the second of the second of

appointed martial a docrats, without any provincial assembles. Since the 1921 census, Punjabi and Bengal. Musums had gamed ansolute majorities within such of those powerh, provinces but such demographic advance was not reflected in the composition of their agreeatures. I made sprepasse would, therefore have given Muslin's elective majority count of in five provincial governments. The final demand was for "not liss" han one-third Muslin, representation in the central gistature also to be soon in mixed electionius.

mah sensed well before the end of February 1925 that Is now Mahaaltha pressure had personaled Congress to back off from its acceptance tho procious May of his new co-stitched a con-normer. He had to remain in In P. how yer all U assembly somehaded as endiger session that March, un' panali sore ned l's League, named which we sly regretted that the II d Mahasabba has protect reject a the Moder large to premakals "8 to acc the solving realing of the one cotor or sone paracovalism It is I have looked to Lord I were for help. He had abserved the lean, an gwere a sterror concle of the assemble stemper during I past two and is all had develoned respect a frame lost begons and maggary. was fundi always ad rec. The __ la Af Fariles Congresse "not" - next to be the non-attractive livers (on) by competent that her is have seemed to Jones, who health approached he vicerov is M. reli, I I HOWELS OF TOSK HE THE COTT OF THE LAND SPREED BY by to mig Simon's Commission into a Mixed Commission," Irwin re-I to Burn it as sold the other was by establishing a twin Indian ten mentiper lefactors to we kee had all same in their appeling was I did no mad the H to a di the a sar est a on his compatible approximate was represented to be a fi ed, however, to consider so h acc has the garage at do to take these people too seriously, n = -1 f = 1 term i $e^{\frac{1}{2}} = 0$ sult to take any lindian politicians very seriously. They gar Joint al himself without effective allfits

Weary and depressed, he went home to Bombuy on March 30, 1928.

Untitle was not waiting for him in South Court. She had moved to the Tay, and I lated receining a saite there by the month. They were never again to be noted the same roof. Still abe kept track of his whereabouts, writing at that day. "Jacturus today at 2.30 p.m.—so I universitand." I she could be a let gu. She sailed on the P. & O. for Paris on Aprol 16, will bit so worther. Journal strumed out of Hombuy a month later aboard the S.S. Ray not Strintens beinger and dilwan Chaman Lal were his fellow passengers.

Account. A led for an 11...O. court rener in follows and

frankly disgusted Minor differences over Sind and majority representations by reservation and Retorns for the North-West Frontier Province have wrecked, for the moment, all chances of unity. "Give me," says Mohammad Ali Jimah, "three leaders to join me over a united programme, which was all but accepted at Delhi, and Swaraj will not be a mere dream but a master brought within the realm of real politics." Jimah is frankly in a despondent mood. He is one of the few men who have no personal motives to morse or personal aims to advance. His integrity is beyond question. And yet he has been the Induces to fine in

much had no officer business in London that sammer but over with old Libera, and Labor true to in indig. Rainay, M.: Douch and Lore Reading in a to invite the result in of Fernare Brockwin Treland's busing pre Indian and also of Farliansens who had post toured India. I make was a freland with a formal Lar who had a site. Paris after his work in Geneva ended do conveyed in eggest missage atoms Rustin. She was "debriquis" with "a ten gent and of the legges. It is said to Paris in two days and spoke with Jady Bet to inner at viafter checking into the George V. Rustins mother a formed has tank her analytic was feeling "better" but then Chan a said arms. I to report that he had pust come from her hospital bed, where she was "dying." "4

He sat still for a couple of men tes, strigging with himself and asked one to telephone the claims which I did. He spoke to the muse in charge who conformed who, I have role that II a apong the same it has chair, he said, "Come, let us go. We must save her." I left him at the climic for nearly three hours, waiting at a nearby cafe and when he in arise, he among three hours, waiting at a nearby cafe and when he in arise, he among three hours well from his face. He had arranged for a new chine and a new medical adviser and all was going to be well. But axis, although Mrs. Jinnah recovered, she did not stay on with her hass and but returned ahead of turn to Bombay and I do not think they met again. 19

While Jinush was abrond. Congress president Dr. Ansar chaired a May 18 meeting it Bonnay of so in aembers of the February Ali Parties Contention of the American States of the American States and Commission and India American States and Commission of the Congress counterpart to the School commission present equals ineffective however completing to tell services without present the land of the American States and India as a whole. The Nebeu commission could not complete by work on time Mortali was quith busy that aummer with monthly it a recking what Gam is called the "Congress president of the Congress president of the Congress president and the Congress president of the Congress president and the Congress president of the Congress president and the Congress president and the Congress president of the Congress president and the Congress president

dence more for Jawaharlal than himself. Mo Ila would agree in December to wear that erown rather than allow it to clude his family altogether.

The Nehru commission met in Lucknow during the last week in August to lampuer out a report based in proposals draited by Mobbi and Jawarelating All habad that summer. Morand tried to anticipate Janah's objecions and to adopt positions acceptank a han on the most tauray issues, he sted Chagla o Lucknow where Sarophi Naidr and App. Besuit met and the Nelsus and Sir of Baladur Sopra then leader of he National the rall bederat on 1 think in your cute lation of he Report was my st solast adherence to the priest is join electorates. Charles notes. Mitalal No 1 for 4 moment thought mat in order to get the month is to accept the Report we should agree to separate electors es I argued we acro draft. age Constitution for the pires of out I the factor Chagta was then I a do nment which was expected to certain or o orgit and we emet not therefor a spongle of dama orners e which is, or accept a and national the arely Malang ed "in chag accepted the Reon at light me top by I do no Missia large . When John to returned I. Box share his imaging assistant way the first person to proof it is in a side pla by and among thous with him losters of exting multi-many and end he would reserve a ligranic man was consour the report of conference mg of the League 1 For Japana and Clapsa bowers here and a no return to earlier la soft and a triendslop in trist Nor would to cover again to sweeps the Neb is regime as now any other than the "Hindu position" on his Delhi Muslim Proposals of the previous year

temocra is though the Nebra report may have need in a supple it one one days rop lated the Lord on the rand flore or conspictationly it, sto the Muslam communate. They were platted mous x interions mil as The doing awar of min na retornes a mienced to promote ment thanks were single and community in one or less dependent on the on at the time of the elections. "If Such words must have so indeal disease with the burn who has been determined ears of violence and comminal natura Januari, it is rule and all prove to acce, superficial per a smoot extres uposed prematerely. He first promouteet ent conseruing the Nelms report came late in October. "My position as President of the All India Muslim League is one which does not permit me to anticlpolitica me that me Attl some in a grand to all Mis ins not to be planned. I see no reason for consternation and stampeds. Muslims should arguntse thermelves, stand united and should press every reasonable point for the protection of their community "to The day after Jumab's remarks hit the headlines, Motiful wrate in invite him to job, the core is the and attend the forthcoming Delbt meeting by

Januah refused MotilaPs invitation. The Muslim League had not as yet had a chance to meet to consider the Nehru proposals he argued and "As the President of the League it would not do for me to appropale they decisions "22 It was one of his most effective negotiating techniques, part of the secret of his singular power for he and is magnified himself by the force of his entire par vivilenever he feet unhappy about the terms of an offer He was just their enving for Sind to take charge of the deleuse of a wealthy and powerfu. Muslim pix of its northernmost district.

Pir Pagaro and been juiled at Sakkur for " | ged y wrongtul confinement of some one and for keeping a large into next if arms our otherweedly in his possession."24 His trial was a din a aperial magistrare a court in the 5 ikkur district These Junah staved a the government ever ut house Suna siral, deep t accommeda in or a l'latop i criona ng the linear and the massive dam that spanned it. I also its a unit 500 rules a day a very trails who for at the rate. A though the mag strate convicted Pagaro, Jungh appealed two years later, and had his client's sentence reduced.

Two sign fleant thangs occurred while It with was to Sind. He met young Mohammed Khelico, who to a worked for Pir again and was destrated to become independent. Park starts med true stee of Said. And Mian Sir Har-Haroon, a princely refer of negaliaring kharipur State and one of Junah's Independent pures use, ally colleagues to let a fete in his honor at the or hate k saleper Himse, which for an attended to a most fase mable modern Single costants ofack sherward choulder against and punip shows Jonah took this occurs in to six is to the Muxim elite it hand several of whom would section by strongest sackers and heatenants during the two remaining decades of his life.

Before seaving St. d. in Assember 10. Januar had open a discussed his grave concerns and pess mism about Mot lays commettee and its report with follow Mus ims. He would be going to be a train December but anticepaied-quie accurately as a turner out that the convenium there might prove "the paring if the ways. Had be decided in fact, prior to December on Calcutta that it was time to abandon the and genous all parties search for a constitutiona "solution acceptable to every shade caste and religious community of Incia's placelistic spectri and Had he concluded that it in the be more profitable and so hazarmous for the Muslim I ray r to go it alone in negotiating with the Britis I for what had I the true spent in allparties agg arg accomplishers after a " over no ad the less of the Hindu Mahasabha any closer to consensus than they had been five years agor With nereasingly fengile health he must have felt more keenly the til voltar in the or considered as a proper like exsome of whom could hardly speak the English language most of whom had never drafted a legal document. Nor was he simply being middle-aged and irritable, though be would soon be at least fifty-two!

At Lucknow, the meeting of Jinnah's League council did not go as he boped it would, and to his personal disappoinment he found many good Muslim colleagues so enamoured at the Nelvy report that he dared not call for a vote on it in early November. Even the manager of Malimudahad, who was elected that year's president of the Mushin League likeu the report and was ready to new it it Chagai was overloved to find so many allies and hoped Junah would see the wisdom of his earlier actions, but Juniph to mained set against the Nehro "constitution," viewing it only as a "Hindii" document

Motoul, Dr. Ausari, and Maulanu Azad met with his in Lieknow larging him to attend a special macting of the Nehrs, committee before the lengue or Congress met a December and before the All Larties Convention would be convened a Care to to to to lash in a contraint se out all on comtranal issues. In righ turn of their down it still insister that first his congahad to meet and off. By take is shard He skeld Mortilal is postpone if copy nition till early next year aft y both appria, sessions of League and Congress. Then he set used to Bridge and previous for a proviously League meeting which was held on Nova pier 23, ho and at cast a win a enquirty in his bone town. But Cong a stond up and argue so exact vely for the Schrit report that Jamiah adjourned the meeting without putting the ques ion to a vote Had a e sensed once again that on this issue he i ded with a imports of his own parts? Januah was growing so art tempered feeling more isolated and dispirited

In an earlier "confidential" letter to his own committee, Mot lal had renorted, after needing with Japan in Lucknow that Japan objected to the Convention being head before the takes ig of the Missian as ague on the ground that the authority to represent the League at the Convention could only be derived from the League . . I may mention that had the Report of the Committee and the Lucknow decisions been taken into consideration they would have been approved by a greater majority [of the Muslim Leagues Councer that hat which elected the Moharara of Mahmudahad as President of the League It is expected that the result will be the same at the open session of the League."21 Motifal was obviously kept well informed of bally there I on the selfel some to rate he as mands than be might otherwise have done. He misjudged Jinnah's rest iones, however, by underestinating his powers. It was a fatal error not only for his report, but for his loopes of retaining lad a an a onited cuttiv. The All-India National Convention started as scheduled in Calcutta on December 22 but no officially appointed representatives of the Minimum League arrived to at tend its crowded sessions till December 28.

by away recitations from the Our on Aband Kar on the chairman of the League's reception committee welconed to desegates on December 26, at the opening of Jaman's League's arman meeting in Calcutta for the ever of momentous colleges in the Const. at on and administration in India." Karen rupt that 'some forces were at work to divide the political strength of he Wishms of Lucia at a time when vital interests both of the corne inity and the country recurred hat there should be so if unity "On Decembet 27 to Luague y ted to appear to un three delegates to represent t mil take part in the de iberations of he Convention called by the lay dian Na onal Congress. This dept also and by Mahir idal ad and ha n h, messaed therestwo-versional Navabrada Laguar Ale Nian 1598-1951 with was to become Pakista is first of me principle and Charle who was to be India's mir ster of extern I affairs 1968-6" Chagla reculted that "Jimah sas a favour of surright reje days of the Sehra report a long and protracted debactive i timately decided three important dire wherets the was that separate electorate a should remain second that there shorts he recovation of one that of the weats in the Central Legislathere and third resid any powers should be ested in the Provinces. 19

, much presented by Miss a sechebor, the national convention on December 28. He invested towas absolutely essential to our progress that a Heida Misslan soft ment should be reached and that all communities about use it a friends and has promound use it a friends, and has promound use it a friends, and has promound use it a friends, and has promound use it a friends.

Africabad's 5.r Te Bahad r 5 pr s, ex law member of the viceros s corp. cfl, rose to respond to Jimah's plea.

If you extreme the figures to will find that including nonroated moreovers. Most in representation in the Central Legislature is 77 per cent and Mr. Jinnah wants 33. Speaking for myself, I would like you to picture Mr. Jinnah, whom I have known intimately for fifteen years. If he is a spoilt child, a marghty child, I am prepared to say, give him what he wants and he finished with it.

However Poona's M. R. Jayakar, hen deputs leader of the Nationalist parts in the assembly shokesmal for he block M. he above the convention was less willing to "pemper" Jimnah than Sapra had been.

I save also known Mr. I much for the last sixtuen years in close association as a colleague in nationaled life and I can assure you that be comes before an tomay nother as a naughty boy nor as a apolled

child... One important fact to remember — is that well-known Muslims after the exteemed partiols Marlana Anal Kalam Azad, Dr Ansari Sir A.i Iman Rasa Salah af Maharudabad and Dr Katchiew have given their tail assent to the compromise embodied to the N-thric Committee Report. It is further to be borne an mind that even in the Muslim League a large ood of members have given it in assent to the Nehru Committee Report, Mr Jinnah, therefore, represents, if I may say so without offence, a small minority of Muslims.

He know, of course, just how offensive a slap that was to 3 nnahs ego and sensitivity and there was applicuse and many a thump of a juproval as Jayakar sat down.

Junab responded softly yet spoke with an intensity of control be hid not publicly displayed since Nagpur

We are engaged to-day in a very serious and solemn transaction We are here as I understand for the purpose of cutes, g a to a solemo contract and all part is who cut the out while have to work for it and higher for it projectly without we was as that his shall Mishas should make the cher and our above is attened. Therefore it is essential that you must get no only the Mislim League in the Masalmans of India and her a an not speaking as a Misolinin and as an Indian. . . . Would you be content with a few? Would you be content if I were to say, I am with you? Do you want or do you not want the Muslam India to go along with you? . . . Minorities cannot give anything to the court it is, therefore no use asking the not to president was to could "triese small points. I am not asking for the models also a to arise as a "manghty child." If her are small penuts on not concede "It s up to the majority on majorit alone can give I am aske given by his adjustment begins. I think it is the lwst and fair to the Muselmans. . We are all sons of this land. We have to live together. We have to work together and whatever our differences may be, let us at any rate not create more bad blood. If · · cannot agree, let us at any rate agree to differ, but let us part as friends. Believe me there is no progress of India until the Musalmans and Hudus are united, and let no logic, philosophy or squabble stand in the way of coming to a compromise and nothing will make me more happy than to see a Hindu-Muslim union 10

He must have sensed that the restless jury he addressed had made up their much significant him long before he reached the end of his argument, oursely by the time he said "let us part as friends." For the marked a major part of the marked a major part of the marked a major part of the marked as major part of the major part of

of Congress and all it represented than Nagpur had been eight years earlier his had delivered his swan song to Jodian nationalism. The Jodian istrone by Judiathal's ringing voice in Westmaster's Commons, numered by Morley was Thorozowshi, noriched by Conhale and Montagu, all those long lost along another grants was dead. Born the spian that he was Judiah spoot his lines is a packed if not always transity house before each curtain to I on a major of his jouties. He Nagpur have ended Art One Calcutta finished Act Two This time there would be a longer intermission.

9

Símla (1929-30)

Just that followed the Calcusts convent in deliner. He lett Malon is not, that followed the Calcusts convent in deliner. He lett Malon is not, that followed the Calcusts convent in deliner. He lett Malon is not, that select the vents and for New Years and Benga, while deliterang for Delby Malon Conference of Con New Years Day 2, 429 in enterted the All-Far as Malon Conference presented to a 3 12 A₂₀. Known is material eighth, of Fareo Afghan is has an a Mughal importers. Shafe was there with his Purpose of the Red For that Sight, parationally related on the paradic product which jurish welled acts the silven possibility product on the paradic product between the Red For that Sight, parationally a state of a directly and small at done. He was as yet indeed a beautiful as since of all enterted acts and at done. He was as yet indeed a beautiful as some and entered acts and at done. He was as yet indeed a beautiful as some and entered acts and at the third age; growd from south in all institute the actica. All brothers were there, together with nawabe and rajas from many a Muslim state. Was this really his home? Were these truly his people?

"It was a vast gathering representative of all shades of Muslim opinion,"
what it has been recalled the content of a mode into a the parent
of important and laste, for the last stone. At the last shot art from distions we have able to elopt it unloses a series of principles which we
set out in a manifesto." The first of these was that "the only form of govreminent suitable to Indian conditions is a federal system with complete
authorousy and residuary powers vested in the constituent states." The next
realifrated separate Muslim electorates and others asserted further Muslim
"weightage" demands in provincial and central governments, as well as for
the crist services. It was not yet Pakastar, but almost its early embryo, with in
a weak federal winds. The Lenguez weights royal latter, driven from the
landing of bits rominemal vessel a decade and a ball carter, was at his belief

of Muslim India again. His mahomalist mutineer was welcomed effusively aboard. The anamouty of this conference was especially a gnificant reflected His Highness for at arket the retaining delarge, and for the moment private and was no grable avoided his change it minds of Mr. M. A. Ji, had to agree near with a school Muslims. Mr. Jimah had attended the Congress parties meeting in Calentra shorth, before, and and come to the conduction of the form a soft har for him times was no fature at Congress or in any campulating of the last won him over to our view. The

We'll get the Aga Khan goat over hat victory though Juniah did not become his malleable vissal, or ever rejoin the Khoja fold. His Laghaesis ma instead however to a de of so price is a granga stretari. Nor was the royal "we" he used in that last sentence. Shaft and Sir Farkt Husain a others lad he used in that last sentence. Shaft and Sir Farkt Husain a others lad he used in that last sentence. That there would be "no at he oxowal of his "agree, but he after a test Jinnah's ambividence and a bing forces will sconservatively pro-British a team. He has a new or a later those was no fature" or his in Congress or any "Hindu an admit" pithical party. Shafting into to seek to keep pace with the Aga & and Shaft could nardly be accompassive without first athing however in neutral goar.

In the last the was back in Borobay Ruttie was virtually bedraider as he last collagong out rarely and then only for short works with Karly and the last collagong out rarely and then only for short works with Karly and the last collagong out and the last collagong of the last of the last only for each in part of the last of the

Chin an Lal was chart up with Jinnah in his Western Court apartment in New Delb "when a trunk call was put through to him from Bomboy. Ho spoke calluly saying he would leave that night life came towards me after the conversation was over and such Batt is seriously ill. I miss! I to high?—and then there was a pause. Do you know, he added 'who that was. It was try fat north law. I then a the first time we have spoken to each other some my marrange, I paramates have to leave the next norming by the lower of the law the law to leave the next norming by the lower of the law the law to leave the next norming by the lower of the law the next norming by the law that the law to leave the next norming by the law the law to leave the next norming by the law the law to leave the next norming by the law to leave the next norming by the law to law the law to leave the next norming by the law to law to leave the next norming by the law to la

I did not know then but learnt only later that flati was not merely senously ill but she was actually dead."*

The funeral was held at Bombay's Mushim cometery on February 22. Kanji met Jional's frain al Grain Boad Station and grove him there trains to convince him "that Buttle would have liked to be cremated," but "sho was buried inder Mushim ries." It was a painful, a similar train I innah sat silent through all of its five hours. Then, as Bit the sbody was being jiwered auto the grave Jinnah as the nearest criative was the first trillrow the early on the grave and he broke down so tide. It and solved and wept its a cold for maintest together." Chagla was also there and he too recalled "there were as tall tears in his eyes, adding," but was the only time when I found Jinnah betraying some shadow of human weakness."

By each March he was back in New Delhi's assembly, responding to Matilal's cut toot or on 'touring exposes' for the vincers, so binet which mad the constitutional question of orders of greyances between the relative green and the and tens opened the door to orders or the Nelan report. "The offer ness retween Rade and Matilians over the Report year in it resident and therefore the altempt of usual gap an agreed Country to refer India has no one a dead sone. Juntal reported Motila the day best to code that the parts of the India to pure the Juntal draws beare by power nor made gight in lid over that reports offin. I know the Neuron Reports in Neuron Besterdes pite. India the matilians peaking disposes match and I want by the realises are the sourch by realises. Made as

lineals ended to now to Menlar Javakar and the rest that are stoke, affect for my clear since I minority that that was not in cost tisk. His with the notifice Muslim League menamed addled with dissension, the rened the adjourned session of his League in Old Della on March 30, 1929, and had met with some of his rivals "till the early hours of the mornor 4 meht before trying to hammer out a new platform on which all of Has could stand. The formula he produced, which came to be known as the Points of Mr Junali, was opposed by Dr Ansari, Tassaduq Ahmed k - Sherwani, Dr. Mohammod Alam, and Dr. Syed Mahmud, all of whom and species, it. Nebra report Maulana Mohammad Ali, however, atal' is a listed with Candhi, supported Jimah "wholeheartedly" that or 1 glowing tributes" to his "unique feat of statesmanship and, - calling him the 'treb compromistr. "I Jirnah was now tryse el une with Judia a Muslema what he had accomplished in 1919 with I consider a He took the Aga Kharis "four principles," by LC - regether with his Della Modas proposals of 927, harmsered sists are replanted onto soffice end, and hoped it would find, an aricity which all of them might survive the coming flood. As of Ali and Dr. Saifoddin knewn omed beneving it to be the best sold non-inder the incumstances."

In there was no enchoses of this makeshilt craft little chance that those or ever points a would sold in the first rough squals of any storm-ravaged see. Not could his "coalition" hold together—even for one day.

Next morning, the League was to have met at the Rowshan Theatre near Apr. r Gate i. Old Dell . I man was to have opened the meeting at 10 30 A bus arrayons late doubtless exhaus eduator he long right of hickoring Dr Ansari's supporters were in the front rows, and "Dr Alam forcibly ocared be presidental chair He preserved a resolution approving the Not a depot the called spon Tassadar, Ahman Khan Sherwan to second it The gathering, however, did not allow Dr. Alam to conduct the proceedis M. mana Monamerael Ah nemanden that he should vacate the hair 1 Dr. Alam off and, the audie or rashed towards the platterin and a genin a moder toffine. Just the a great arrived and his appearance seemed no man to the soft may effect but goinging the fatal to or the enterprise I would be mader backed, se methor advanted the ress on without the ag to gove his feather, so his that the nationer waring him a sa busto or had let used to other so his many pointed purstoner I a is in them that I the Vs. of Mis on Little was to be "registerroil, then it can only be accomplished by a united decision."13

No to say a round of some the jornor league had, in fact centred to es sist few moetrigs ad parts. Leather for lack of a caprom in because . b. In mayter. The rest of "Mas on India" was either a thin Congress . "re Manana Aby Kalam Azad repealed, or impotents divided into . I note s a fe "parties" none of all oh all ned note than provencias Shafts mag it cert a next frace in the Punjah Dr. Ansar consuced Asit Al. aid Che iclay Kha quzzan av te hel. buy start a new Nationalist Make pary that was affue has in the United Provinces The Aga Khap I a acto I is awa Ale India Muslim Conference a continuing searmar of consurvetives such as Sir Fazl-i Husein. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, and the nawab of Chhatari. It was less than three months since the All Parties Mushin Conference, and they were all running again, in different directions. rick real stic were interes prospers of palling them took together? I've copt for a few persona, friends such as Malik Barkat Ali, Abdul Matin Choudhry and Sir Mohammad Yakub," his loyal helper in running the League, Syed Shamsul Hasan, rightly noted that "others were reluctant to work with the Quaid. His strict attachment to principles and independent approach to problems were the main reasons which kept the others away Irona den. Fra

Troub has no place left to but but to his British Greeds. The publical

chimate in London was rapidly liberalizing, and his old Islangton Commission colleague, Ramsan Mac Jonald, was about to become Westimasters in woolsstar. That May the Tory government fell, and Prime Minister Mac-Donald appointed his Labour colleague. W harn Wedgwood Brins. 1877. 1961—after Visionant Stansgale—werefary of state for Ind. a., mail. wasted no time traveing to build as soon as he cannot of the Labour vectory for a long personal talk with Lord Irwin. The herion would be referring to London in a few weeks to meet with his new chiefs at Whitehall and 10 Downing Street Johan. I good him to press for a strong decent. In the Home government, hat downing status was the goa. I first willow for India suggesting a Round Table conference in London to draft such a constitution.

But the "present system" was again coming under heavy saige Gandlin had returned to Congress center stage during its faul hours in Color to to prepare to count a new attoms. Sugagraha a aping a "lat nament failed to implement the Nehru report within the calendar year 1939.

The Mahatma noved the Car press resent or accepting Middalla report for one year only accordingly avert a light between the torces of Mothin and I a sharlal on the Congress floor over whether the national goal snowld be dor mion status or complete muc endence. "It is Congress will adopt he North Report, constitution in its entire vill tis regard is the British Parliament on or before December 31st, 1929," that resolution stated, "but is the event of its non-acceptance by toas a term its earlier rejection. Cona research meaning a money relent don-co a sera ion by adviving the courte to as havel on and project of a mapping as a set, cd 5 Des at 11 sum to of that resolution's mover Subhas Bose proposed an amendment calling for mplete independence" without full or Jelas "What is the fundamental ense of our political digradation?" cried Bose the future hunar. Na ional Art is o tan "onder, and after twice Congress president. It is the slave sure table. If you want to expressive this slave neutable you will do so only spining our court is near with a desire for confidence "dependence" at the was 1- ared a ld a 1 ming 1 ma was ready to shed its blood for freedom The darkest days of 1922 were by now forgotten.

On June 10, 1929, Jinnah wrote to Ramsay MacDonald, his old friend and of the words master. The meson his first a a service rous deadlock and if allowed to continue it will, in my judgment, prove disastrous both to the interests of India and Great Britain. The their briefly outlined political events of the preceding few years, especially since the appointment of the Stimus Commission and the futurity of awaiting its report, since "So far as field in concerned, we have done with it." Noting that "India has each her linds in the word of Great Britain," Jinnah advised. "The Brit and Foremost

thing that I would ask you to consider is how best to restore that faith and revive the confidence of India in the bone fides of Creat Britain."10 He warned that "there is a section in Industrial has already nectured to favour of complete independence, and I may tell you without exaggeration that the movement for a dependence is gaining ground as it is supported by the Indian Nation I Congress. To summer the momentum of such a movement which much considered in less dangerous a threat to India's security than due the vicercy be a gyeste has step one a delivation "without delay" by The Macety's government hat Treat Britain is unequivocally piedged to the policy of grantery and magical responsible Covernment with Domenton status. The effect o such a fact arithon well be very far reaching and go a great way to create a lifetent atmosphere in the country." As to pra fical accounts maples out son a declara on the orgen has frend to furthe represer tut ves a 1 am - it is addite in a position to de ver the goods the cause completely many size or India is not possible at present " to London'to meet with links, afficials till they would reach a constitutional fromtion witch light carry of section of the viceros, the wring assent if the ic is a 1 - a 11 groupeds thus formulated could then be placed Inform Paritument

Lord I've trached Landon at the same time as Jamaha letter and went are the a the area. The I meet with Westgwood bean, suggesting the two ideas of Round Table Conference and formal doclaration of Dominion shall us as the goal of 3r to a loss for India? The new secretary of state was raposes to concer by wishes to be satisfied that we were not going maid the backs of \$1 -9 and as Connaisson who were their preparing in ricinit. I accordingly this issue to this suggestions with 5mnon and was much interested in his reaction to them," I ratio rocalled.

Somewhat to my surprise, he at first saw no objection at all to the declaration about Dominion Status, but felt difficulty about the Round Table Conference, principally on the ground that it would be likely to affect adversely the status of the Commission's report, when it appeared, by making this only one among other papers that the Conference would presumably have before it. . . A little later, again to my surprise, his pos ton changed on both points, and I have always surmised that he was much influenced by Reading. Anyhow, whatever the cause, he finally expressed himself satisfied with the Round Table Conference, and ful in with the plan of an exchange of letters with the Prime Minaster by which the Conference would appear as an deapint by the Commission to the Government and smalth account of the linder States as well as at Patish Image.

So much for historic duplicity seeking to salvage Simons face. Actual credit for both ideas hamous not to Irwin but to his new macknowledged acrosser limals.

Soothing Simon's ruffled feathers took time. It was not until August 14 that fixmsay MacDonald could reply in a "private letter"

Dear Mr | innah,

I am very sorry, but owing to a mistake [sic] your letter of the 16th of June was not put immediately before me. Let me say at once how much I appreciate the aport in which it was written and how glad I would be to meet it in any way possible. The report of the Simon Commission you need have no hesitation in assuming was never intended to be anything more than advice given for the guidance of the Government and that the intention of the Government is, as soon as that report is—at a made, reconsider the Let light of all the facts. The suggestions which not make an voir let er will be pondered over with a desire to use them in every way that circumstances will allow. But one thing I can say here—because I have said the lover ripilatedy, and that I remains the totent in of the Government that we want India to enjoy Dominion status.

There will probably be announcements made very soon regarding future proceedings. 41

Friah was very pleased and optimistically replied on September 7. "If you are not my suggestion with which I am glad to find that you are in according to will a map a height on in for India and the name of Great Britain will be down in bistory as one has on that was true to its declarations.²²

Lord Irwin wrote Juniah from his "vicerov's camp, the following month mounting that

His Majesty's Covarnment are greatly concerned to find means by which the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance may be approached in co-operation with all who can speak authoritatively for British Indian opinion. . and I am authorised to say that in the judgment of His Majesty's Government it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status. In the full realization of this policy the States must altimately have their place—and His Majesty's Government accordingly propose

to invite representatives of different interests in British Ind-n and
of the Indian States to meet them, separately or together as obscure
stances may demand, in regard both to British India and all Luba

SIMILA (1929-30)

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problems. They hope thus to be able to submit eventually to Parliament proposals commanding a wide measure of general assent 12

The first steps and would lead to three major bound Table conferences in London were that taken, and Jimah was not only the prime minister's personal friend and acviser are not a my hat complex process but had now become the vicerop's loss emissary as well.

Inwin's historic statement appeared on the front page of every major Indian newspaper on November 1 929 Junah was n Bombas that das and net with eighteen others in Sir Chimanial Setuarad's chambers to issue a joint jubbs statement is response to any or a minoragement welcomed as a

fundamental mange of procedure whereby the representatives of Irun will invocate neet his Mages as Cover ment in conference for the purpose of arms again the greatest loss like beas are of agreement regarding the purpose some submitted or Parlament for the attainment of the armon Status by Ird. In the relax reaching a sout tion which might carry the willing assent of political India. Bit

Sur to Nation Bhalabba aleas Sir Him J.P. Mah. Oragla kamp Dwar kamp and his frost as wore among those who signess that sades out 1 is less fail at a course have the Not all New archaing to the haders of any valuaties ofth that Congress a policy of general conclusions was early control to the haders of a course of the preson mantal resemblation of the Islam National Origins of the Islam National Origins of the Islam National Origins of the orthophrag Rus. This content has the Islam National Origins on a content to be caused, further insisted that "the [Round Table] Conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to mine a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India."

Nowher to Jawahar al Nehr wigh that Mandesto than he regretted got he word ascend of valling act will such as Bose and his compared to freeing himself "an interloper." Jawaharlal now wanted to "resign" from the presidentality of Congress, which he had just accepted Condhi or made it awahar as a received value with the had just accepted Condhi or made it awahar as a received value with the horizon and no principle at stake. About the crown, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a crown of roses Let it be all thorns now." Nohro did not, in fact, resign, not has continual threat of resignation shiftened both Candhi and Mottalal in hoir resolve to stain, by the leaders mainfesto as the most they would be will up to the by way at "accommendating" the vicercy and His Majasty's government from however had secured as much promise of change as fannany MacDonard was primared to ofter Ju nah, therefore found homself in the

unequiable, yet not unfamiliar position, of having to try to bridge the gap remaining between both sides

Jinnah, Candh. Motria. Vehru, Sapru, and Pate, met with Irwin at the vicerous house of New Della at 4 30 PM on December 23, 1929 Irwin bad just returned from his vicerigal tour that morning, and as his train appreached Delhi station a bomb exploded under one of its carriages. Fortunately neither the vicerus nor his excert was opered Gandha was first to speak that afternoon expressing the horror he and chose who accompanied hun telt at the attempt on His Excellence's train " offering "congratulations on Their Excellencies escape." Hie then asked Lord Irwi: whether the interpretation of his announcement sub, shed in the Congress leaders' manifesto "The [Round Table] Conference is to preet not to discuss when Donumer Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Durmon Constrution for India. was accurate. Gandle explained that " adess agreement was reached on this point he felt it truttless to proceed to in other quesions from posisted "he thought that the way-ling of his appropriement nade the position plane." The eligect of the conference "was to thresh out the problems which arose out of this Majesty's Government's defining declaration of golies. He then mack, added that here at his was a chance "of doing something log and the danger of losing a great opportunity." It "was absocs a impossible to lay a down that the Conference was to druft may sert cular Constitution. Irwin argued, but 'it would have fire fulles of porit its to discuss any proposals put before it. He emphasized that the Conferet a would be absolutely free There would be no closure to the freest lisension the Conference would not be took at proceed to definite voting, not would rather follow the bines of the Imperial Conference, a record being kept of the general sense of the members."

Mr. Gandhi felt that the Imperial Conference was on a different footing. There all the parties to the discussions were more or less of one mond. At the Indian Conference this would not be so. However much they argued they could not reach a policy which would be acceptable to all 22.

It was a remarkably prophetic conclusion, coming as it did almost eighteen ear prior to partition are a steepant is braidreds of housands of manhours worked on conferences and in cabinets, and millions of futile words, who have the total to be ment or paper Could not steep could be actual votting at the conference, but he argued that unless the establishment of dominions status could be "presumed as an immediate result of the Conference," he could not take part in it the demanded "complete freedom at

once" and said India was capable of "solving her own problem of defence."

Motific agreed adding that "British people exaggerated the difficulties in
his war of Dominion Status for India. There was no difficulty about having
fill Dominion Status at once, though he did not mean that the Indian form
4 1 could be exasted to existence."

Many Status already in existence."

ore Irwen though the "unreasonable" and looked to Jinnah and Sapru at a son, if or more effective support Both reasoned at some length with the following the second of the second and the second with the second of the second with the second of the Conference would be set the true function of the Conference would be rather as the theorem of the Conference would be rather as the theorem of the true to of full Dominion of the true to of the Dominion of the second of the Conference would be rather as the theorem of the representation of the Conference would be and as the the representation of the Conference would be the and to urgue about streggirds "Bett Conference to argue about the reference of author of the second of the

Pr. In Minda Vehra gave it as his opinion that no indian would be so shed with less than Dominion Status. He saw no difficulties in the way almost. But if there were any, they could be solved after the central point was admitted India could solve them for herself. The whole crux was the transforence of power from Great Britain to takin.

The litterness and cold inflexibility later noted by those who were to n at 1 correct or the wake of this aborted conference more than in it is the Roles death. Once again he had permitted his hopes to not in the what he had 'arreaged," after ad, was no near gible affine He is extracted from Ricisary MacDonald and Lord few is no ordinary may We about any me partial a could have taken her place head Catanda and Australia as an independent dominion helping "the progress of are a lear range as male put it to the muster whom he had also assi red "a great success" in response to his announcement. And he had actruly brought them all into the same room, though that alone had taken almost two months of "negotial ng." Then to watch everything distategrate before the stone wal, erected by Gandhi and Motilel as spokesmen for Jawahach, and his brends how else could it leave Jimah but bitter? Tired, Pregnated, Furous A and and other. He understood processly what Motifal meant when he said that he saw no difficulties in the way to winning domar an idating Garathi laid been more forthright involving there was in fact, "the lack of "ruly" and that alid present a problem. Mobilal, however, was not even prepared to concede that a "Muslim problem" existed, even as his son warded it if refuse to admit it eight years later. Jinnah knew how much this resented ann. It's mere presence in so select a group, though he had been the most instrumental arbringing it together must have seen as guilding the most instrumental arbringing it together must have seen as guilding to desirate to Mobili for Junah was the living reminder to him of why the "constitution" he had labored so hard to write last year was about to pass not if the trash him of history. Nor ould Jinnah have he liped feeting as the sun set upon that long and wears, afternoon that he was, at heart closer to Lord Irwin than to Motilal or the Mahatma seated heside him. He had no Mus in Jingue left to meet with this yea. Nor would the occur now dividing him from Congress ever be bridged again.

Congress met that as an Labore to con plete independence opurna suarar esolution passed at this Congress marked a radical departure for the Indian national st movement now in its facts fourth year. This would be the host annual session of Congress held a sig the Obris has holiday Press dent Javaharial Nehri, a sounced, "Irasmuch as the Congress is interiled to be representative of the mor masses and masses the helding of the Congress at the end of December, avalves yet a considerable expense to the pour people is providing or extra cluthing for themsexes and is occurrence noniversent to their." The revolutional sharges subgree by Canada decade current had haver d to the point where Congress and its comper generation of leaders up wanted on longer to be sed at a way to the British Finpire at habits strutions, had nous, or timet the Souths Juntrail 36 1350 was proclassed Pietra Stearag D. s. In the Working Compittee of Congress, and a resolution stating that "We becove that Ind a must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swara, in Cities, he Independence "I was posted and read out to adjust across the subcenthent.

From his lofts tomels Mando, r.H.1 town. Jimnah watched the rising of this new revellation on tide lash against official induference and repression, mass. I his mights breakwaters athware every pateway to India. The areastill in face of drose waves would key shattering themsolves against these immovable object to be to know dack again. Impercept bill, the rocks and detoid in word some would sottle and others and With the next high ride in mod the second would break through, and still more with the total after a made of the second would break through, and still more with the total after a made of the second break through and still more with the total after a made of the second break through and still more with the total after a made of the second break through and still more within the second break through and still more within the second break through the properties and particle law at second break through an analysis of the second break through the second break through the first through the second break t

Jianuh blauned Gundlu "for this sudden outburst of political systems," as he publish characterized the new Congress program, "Sapru agreed, writing Lunah on January 5, 1930. I have today read your interview in the Press. I entirely agree with you. The Congress has gone mad, but the worst of it is that in its madness it is going to involve the country in disaster "to Sir Le, was ready to start afresh enchasiast cash adding. "We must act and act logether and with a determination that we will some my differences. I have no doubt that in this occasion you can be of the greatest possible use to the country." He wanted to arganize another all parties conference and assured I much. "I personal", hink that we should not find it difficult to bring about a settlement of the Haidu Moha addan question. But without flattering you I do say tout it is impossible to get a settlement effected with out your coopera on ma gordance. Impah agreed to give it a try as did Shafi and Mahmudahau. Handu Mahasabha leaders were also withing to join such a conformer after much persiading and capoling by Sapra Jinnah. selected most at the Milshir representatives to the continence in Delhi that met on February 26, 930, More than 6fts delegates were myded including lead ag Liberais. Maiasaol nes. Caristians. Anglosfod ans and Madras Justhe party "Uncombables as well as Mas a leaguery Early in February Januah met with Made e Mohan Molas ya the Hindo Mahisan has leider in the assembly to his ass command for lems and felt the atmosphere has i presed" for possit e settlement. Yet soil ag han reads changed since Petersury 1928, except that Congress was not a altendance at the latest futile "all-parties" conference

Jamal had not expected rath of Sapris contetence rather he focused as own attention on the London ment, and presser law in to autocare an opening date of the Bound Table conference origing the viceros to send out official invitations.

The Mahaman had amost completed his heroic march from Sabarmati to the sea where he there symbol a limitle sait in open violation of the British sait monopely among a new nationarial valengiaths. Jinnah feared that the rising sides of Satyagraha and British represent world server only to destroy the transfer country to the same and the victory was trying to have away from signing the country to the victory was trying to have away from signing the country to the Fir Pagaro appeal. Jamah wrote from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin and April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later from the carount house in the April 20. Two weeks

get back to Bombay about the end of this month and if it would suit you, I can run up to Simla for a few days in the first week of June." M

Gandha's march, from his ashram in Ahmedabad 240 miles south to Dandi on the sea, and starter March 12 and ended April 5, with the eyes of the world for sed upon this last or day Moses leading his children of Incia, out of bondage. April 6 was the case set of Carolla for the "samutaneous beguning" of the national de *Satinggraha*, when Landreds of housands of Incia as broke the government's salt tax monopola law by steabag" natural salt for themselves from India's thousands of miles of coastlan. "There is no alternative but for us to do something about the order of andre since as it of sufferings and bence we have thought of this salt has. Mall dring Canada since as it of a Surat in April 1 Canada was are ted on May 5 and taken to Poona's Year via prison, which he renamed "palace" and "mande" ("temple" in his letters.

Less than two weeks after entering prison the Muhastin were a long from addressing him as abear Friend and began to negotiate with lain returning the eleven points. The had command ted. Rainsay Mul-Dunad is finearly who, he occured exently principally so mills off his "civil assemblera." amprops before it had some d. The list of less was "Total protestion." The for the citled for Amorton of the bell Tax" others demanded Reduction at land deviate at ast by 30 m minimaking it so need to Legia a record rol. "Record of Motor Capture is a making it so need to Legia a record rol. "Record of Motor Capture is a last by 30 per end to any making it so need to Legia a record rol. "Record of Motor Capture is a last by 30 per end to less." Protective tariff on foreign lath a most to political prisoners abolition of the Craminal In elligence. It wis not of political prisoners abolition of the Craminal In elligence. It will be a most of the control of the craminal in elligence is sufficiently active.

I have taken what has been called a mad risk But it is a justifiable risk. No great end has been achieved without incurring danger . . . I am an optimist in firsty years of struggle I have frequently been told I was attempting the impossible, but invariably I proved the contrary 3"

Soon after that interview appeared in the press, Sapra and Jayakar lat not 1 form pear mass a set a the vectory a provide approval I make looped as well not going set on the eve of the Bound Tame conference to now viewed as his only ray of political light, guarding it with almost proprietary jeulousy. "I am very anothes that the names of the representatives who are going to be invited to the t enference should not be problemed till the end of August or the beginning of September and I may re-

I stypii o let me see the list of the invitees before you finally decide upon a pin as so that I may be in a position to make such suggestions as it may set at a ... Of course it will be for , in diminally to decide who should be invited. This can be done while I am at Simla." The vicercy had insisted to a riving his assembly meet in Simla that July despite Jumains advice to a unitary Juma sirera conshipts him thus recume increasingly into a late of door dwars in a smoothly. Both gaunt, elegant, and punctious, these two men were so allke they must have found one another at once it fractive and exasperating.

51, 1 and Ja assa, come to the Y-rayda prison to meet with Gandhi on 1 2 ad incide Mainten wrote a note for hand devery by the vice rouses to Motila and Jawahar a in Nain, prison stating that his

press a lossition is that if the Round Table Conference is restricted to it is said a sail guards that has be increased in connection with last Gaschiert design to wron of transition. I should have no if the including the wron of transition I should have no if the including the Language and not be ruled out if anybody raises it. I should be satisfied belate or including the result as the ride of the tangency attending the Conference about its whole composition.

Cond. a seat of every gletter to Mothar on the same day adding, "My position which a seat of a kward. But after all Jawahariah must be the Bina time of the order of the bagter and Jayakar uncertainteen to hort. You will be not pure of the order of the

Sapru returned to Natui prison on August 8 to inform the Nehrus that Lord Irwin had "no objection" to sending them to Poona to meet with Gandhi in Yeravda. Two days later a special train rushed them to Maharashira, and from August 13-15 Congress stores leavers not with Sapru and Javakar inside the Mahatina's palore temp of cell. Several other members of the Congress party's working commutate medicing Valla in bhat Patel and Saropin Vaidu jound them Ju August 15 the Congress prisoners wrote to Sapru and Javakar concluding that "the time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement honourable for our country" of

Jamab's anxiety over the rate of his conference mounted as he followed news reports of the Yerayda prison "all parties" concerence from which he and the Musom Leagua by his own how were excluded He wrote again to livern on August 19 what was a most remarkable efter not only for this impartence and trascibility bordering on perulance it revealed but because it reflected what was actually a reversal of tones with Jimah orging the vice-roy to be more "firm and defaulte" in as dealings with calling automatics 43

Jamesh bad taken upon moverly as it were the fire nurdens of vieroy and screetars of state internalizing those soles in what be truly behaved to be the best interests not into of the Mosino minor to, be, of the outrie purplation of fine in Creat distinct and indeed, the world is easily and Camely give mentally nobelineed by now behaved Jawaherlal Nobro a daragenous, sing radical whose judgment on did to the tracted and know that Motdal's fever was beginn as to give the income "He sensed that the older Nebrus wall had labor a stage to be son's note give its ross we to ratch toward complete. Rependence last test out of fire sonce take entires Jamesh saw no ray of hope left in India only in the distant glow of London's Bound Table conference, the thoughts of which sustained him.

Land levels wrote to Sapra and Jayakat from his vectogal lodge it Simla on August 28:

I fear as you will no doubt recognize that the task you had volunturily undertuken has not been assisted by the letter you have received from the Congress leaders. In view both of the general tone by which that letter is inspired and of its contents, as also of its blank refusal to recognize the grave injury to which the country has been subjected by the Congress policy not the least in the economic field, I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions there made and I must frankly say I regard discussion on the basis of the proposable contained in the letter as impossible. I hope if you desire to see the Congress leaders again you will make this plats.

be unded Bound One of the peace tasks. Invin wrote to notify Januah of his firm response on September 1. Jianuah's reply a week later continued to make I ke a communication from a higher official to his subordinate. "I am necessity of yours of the list September, 1800 and I thank you very much on a list is spart to inform you that I am going to Sud on a professional and the mit tonight and shad letter to Bull but as the Ush or 18th. I have now booked my passage for the 4th October in view of the fact that the Conference does not meet till the middle of November. More when I column "4th."

It has much o arrange in a nat was to he his last full month in India. I is dry it yours. Almost thirty five years had gone by since his return from make Bombay his nome. The would be thespian had reached a in a social a an ost successful mana er a vicero, a after ego, and the prime amorter's friend. It was time to go back then to London-not to retire sits is set a name to enjoy an atmosphere less trenzied, less perdat the find his bad become Fiver guaranted and secretive about his private in the hade no promonement of their pairs on the eve of his departs of Those who know him assumed of our ray that he was more a pack-I may rut up for the Rount Table conterence. But he was planting his in a graphic acider of the law to transfer his practice entirely to appeals at as face as I by Counce the Eigenst court in the couper. In in de-A law restor of March David S77 1938 to priside over in Mis a healigness approximate a second which he would not honself attend. He to use a just a much faith in had a la leadure as a the Bandus Pure fel gr on ertax e no ang Jiraah was fen car with jette con-10 1 of the cord essing covert. The Borne Table would seem as the only the flux fine act on British India's political stage. And should the curtain there descend on a flop, at least that would leave blin in London,

10

London (1930-33)

Jinnah had sailed aboard the P&O Viceroy of India, leaving Bombay on October 4, 1930. As the first stroke of moon reverberated from Big Ben on Amamber 12, 1930, king Emperor George V stand. A before his the me in the Royal Gal en of the House of Lords inauge rated by firs you in Table conference on I shar, with his toessage being break and throng out the world In wireless. Bays of morning son filtered, brough the high statued glass is nthous of that attredrallike hall filled with the fifty-eight we l-d-essed delegates from British India among whom stood for all the Agia Khan, Sapru Javakar and sixteen representatives of the Inc an states, nel nong Puhala and Baroda Bhopal and Alwar is his visit green turban plus a pholany of ofherms ed by Prime Minister MacDona d Mr. Benn, and Lord Sarkey the chancellor of the lords. Ex vicerous Hardange and Reading were there, as were the prime now sters of most dor mans of the British Commissional at all of woom remained standing during H's Majesty's brief address. King George departed as soon as he concluded his speech. The maharaja of Latida the chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, their proposed that Primo Maister MacDona 3 take the chair of the ionterence and the Aga Khan second of the motion, which was carried by acclamation Liberal V. S. Srinavas Sistre spoke first for the British India. delegation. Then Junian as park so an fir the system Meshar letegates, rose introducing what the Times repeated as "the first agges up of controversy" "I am g ad. Mr fresal at [MacD., all the your formed to be fact that the decidentations unide by British sovereigns and statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare her fur self-government have been plain." . . But I must emphasize that India now expects translation and fulfilment of these declarations into action."

Hindus and the Muslims."

This was a stage more giorious than any he had ever spoken from before, it is a on, not supply of a year and a half's solelying and labor from it a world away but of his current contical career. To after a few adulation of the new as timorous Sastir had done to say norming of substance, it is a morentous or bistoric was unthanking the first finant. Emphasizing as the said and the need for action was electrifying enough for most of use the transfer of the princes who had preceded his dared but Jinnah is a first any of the princes who had preceded his dared but Jinnah is a first owner to ownship had to use in that hadowed had. The consistency of the presence of the Domes in Minister weeks had because at the presence of the Domes in Minister and representants, is, I am glas that they are here to a time the arm of a new Dominion of India which would be ready to discuss the arm of a new Dominion of India which would be ready to discuss the arm of a new Dominion and the transplant of Nations Did of the transplant and the discussion of the transplant of the property to load aborder as yet unborn dominion into that communive alth?

are the note for Male for Hallov ex governor of the Loyal as well as the Control of the Loyal as the government of Indias senior consultative official at the conference.

As a significant of the present to be facility well comtain. If the recentred is lord from a from Whitehar. The Aga Mann is a year where he is not professes to any what it to write majority Hanah is of course a good deal mistrusted; he did not at the operating of the Conference say what his party had agreed, and they are a little sore in consequence. He declined to give the Conference Secretarized a copy of his speech in advance as all the others had done. But then Jinnah of course was always the perfect little bounder and as a figurey as the sels which his forefathers purveyed in Bombay of mice! "

The conference reconvened in St. James's Palace on the afterpoon of Manda. Navirally 17 The gat before I hab Shab and the Aga Khan Line at a 12 Sept. Set yet I James's and Dr. B. S. Moon. Nagpurs 12. In Mah wish, in the nawab of Bropa's Leadon resetor of a more of the street and a street and a street and a surface harmon. "as the Aga Khan put jet be for critically here were does and office of orthogolastic and so where effect a sound to be felt." Nothing had a good to be a surface and office of orthogolastic and office of orthogolastic and so where the surface a surface and office of orthogolastic and so which Suprir and Setalvard were ready to concede, and none of which Jayanar or Moonly would fully accept.

As Jun in his teared, the conference proved much too large. There was time only for three addresses to the first plenary session, six on the next flay, and four on the third. This opened were so profit, redundant, and the torteal dut, other softeneds were straitly limited by the chart to no more

than ten minutes for it soon became obvious to everyone that precious time was being intered away listening to oit-repealed arguments, while the mage moment if world interest and attention was being wasted Virunal) all the Indian speecies towever echoed a ongle theme, the "whole future was at stake." "The time has long since passed by when finute could be told to hold its soul in patience," as Sagure put it find speaking for the princes, the gackwar of Barodia was even more forthright. Even for Muhammad Shish wanted against further "tards measures." But Lord Per. 1967, 1937, former secretary of state for India under Baldwins Tory government from 1922-24, who led the Conser ative part's delegation, ignored all the appeals urgent ampassioned, and, are accurate though they proved to be, arguing for an alementation of the total 50 non Convension proposals.

Januah spoke for only ten maintes on November 2t his addressed himself threaty to Lord Prix, as sing Ust the Silve. Commissions deport was dead. He spelled out in his stretuchers, norrower what was later to become his stretuch for achieving Pakistan. Evolve Wrench so need ently reported that when he taked Jonah when he find got the vision of Pakistan he told be it was a 1990. That there is no exicute that the serious vision of the serious vision vision vision vision vision vision

contemplated learing the stringge toward as attempted as yet. Two points he made at the Runnd Fabre in Never set 2000, however offer a per and assights into his strategic times, a file so ject. I have no 2000 a local mending this proposition, that you keeped in the party a great, torest in holds but conserved and political and therefore you are a party of I may say so, gravely interested in the fature constitution of India Bet I want you equally to conserve that we have a greate and far more youl interest data to have your account of the political interest had no set is all in all And as to the greater and the publical interest had to interest had to be proposed in our parties. I made stated that "Lacre are four man, parties sitting to made the table now. There are the British porty the Indian rances the

Jamus had long recognized a wide range of Muslim special intrests, models and distants his this way — ew departure and resime a major the air of his Pasistar strings. Unit is, that the Mustime work a "party" a destinat like aparticities, it not a studie openitio, the Handus, the princes, and he for did his second point was at least as rippor and but remained still a lead with a finite construct by nost who heard A as nothing near to the his action of heart and he sould be a second point was a least as ripportant but remained still a lead with a partition of his Round Table negotiated a "settlement" to leastify the aspirations of India" then the severity million Muslims and all others who had "kopt aloof" might be tempted to "join" the "run security and minvestion!"

Junah then stated "the cardana, principle" which he hoped Bridish members of the conference would keep uppermost in mind, that "India wants to an astress in her own house and I carant conceive on any constitution in I or i may frame which all no transfer responsible to the Legislatine." It was, he argued the ast that would now suffice to satisf polarical leaders through not the subcontinent, those who came to London, as well as those who is a subcontinent, those who came to London, as well as those who is a subcontinent, those who came to London, as well as those who is a subcontinent, those who came to London, as her remarked Mac Double, the subcontinent, those who came to London, as the from the former prime is a subcontinent of the subcontinent will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Journation of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an all will in the Commonwealth of rober to Ladin." Trenchantly be added. "Trenchantly be added."

, and was user and to top oder a structure subour mittee chaired by 5 they become wright he and Shall both made it clear that no conto it with work inless it enchoded provisions which gave a sense of on r + at M same and her not ordines in Hades reported to Town there we also ut wery London a tennot at reso and the Hippan Movan we het on liker page . I god JS. The last of these meetings was at the are restern contry house Chrispers to which Hodes and Muslims a largery, and a motor buses," wrote flades on the 3th a bad a ling are a single of these ast right. So far as one can prophess, the in In this are that he Mushins will give up separate electorates but will . . . re nator to 1, the fun,ab and Bengal and weightage in the other I wones I as a resist of proyet premature. "The Musa of acting on whose cross of four hand, now reflect to go each on their montener in separate of the is and demand not only these but a the terms which her as uded their for teen potats. The Handles, ied by Moonje went back on their agreement to concede the fourteen points. There was, 1 I a complet detadock 1/2 Ramspy MacDonald was so depressed by the Chequers flasco that he decided to turn to Lord Willington (1866-1) ich gesemorgerar a it Canada, zur he pius auf statut a new or if a tax law trains term as viscous expired in Apr. 231 and on December 23, 1930, Britains prime minister wrote to Canada's prime n nister, Richard Bennett, asking him to let go of his governor-general, explaning "A solution of this problem is essential to the future government of I relig, and I must now be sought in India itself. I know no man who can conclusive those negotiations better than Wilhingdon "18

In sub's botte nouse as governor of Bombay during World War I would the network to take the belon of India's government at New Delhi from

1931-36. It was not entirely coincidental perhaps that for most of Lord Winingdon's term as viserov. Jianah renamed one of India, though by then be more closely resembled the form dable marquis in temperament as well as appearance than he did out radical young nationalist leader of the 1918 anti-Willingdon protest. Willingdon's feelings toward. Jianah sufficed to keep the latter off the joint commente appointed to fastion final Round. Table conference proposals into a new government of India bill for Partament Jinaah opted to live at London, however, despite Willingdon's presence to India a "Tarket who must base tempted him sore?" at times to return it the legislative assembly as much as because of 1 Jianah did not bestitate to return periodically, for visits o Sonla, Delbu and Bombuy diving his half decade of "permanent" residence in London.

Before Ramsa. MacDon Id's admission of failure to resolve the comis analy collection on a reach C hada, lowever a raw propose of the Moston position was being articulated an a poorly site ided meeting of the Milshin League in Allahabad on December 29, 1930 That meeting was presided over by Dr. Mahan and I day 1877-1838 a cos of trida porcept losopher of the Panjah. Though a narroster of Lincoln's free educated to Heidelberg and Mouch University and a graduate of Teast. College. Commidge. Alterna "Islamic School" I total renna ee, deep s reng eas throug toot his turnment at it somed the Miship League's Bertshi connattree when it was first started in Laudon in 1908 served as secretary of Shaft's ringue, and was a leading force of the Pun ab's legislative council fro 1928-30. In Mahaban ap at was first to articulate the two ration theory of arceone lable Hinds Max as difference. He was not calling for exercises not mad separation as vet but assisted that The purposite of European or normary must be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal 290 as The Musley depend for the crest in of a Muslim and a within I wan a therefore perfora "staffed" He then went turtler that any previous press, of the league had ever gone spella goat his vision of the but in this, destroy of the Musica comment of his own Punjab and its neighboring provinces. "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West I mi I mus to Soud and Baluch stan ama gamated into a single State. sell gove annext with the British Empire or without the British Empire the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India "14 I ball but ____ | plants" met the Round Table conference and in the concluding section of his Allahabitel speech, criticized Ramsay Mac-Donald for refusing "to see that the problem of India is internationa."

On January 14, 1801, the Aga Khuu, jounth, and Shafi called on Ramsay Much could to warm bits that "unless bits statement of the Coverament's points is accompanied or an announcement of satisfactors safeguards for the constraints most of the Moseus delegates will dissociate themselves from the findings of the Conference of Kan. Disa sadas reported that it say MacDonard tried by this in the solves was greater cooperation from the Grang the conference by "case dry remarking to him in "the course of conversation" that

in view of the forthcoming changes in India the British Government con ld be looking for distinguished Immass for a point tient as Provincial Governors. The obvious implication of this suggestion was that "I main would have an excellent chance if he proved to be a good buy" I finish at once made it clear to Ramsay MacDonald that his survices were not available for sale and firmly rejected the offer which he believed was nothing less than "an attempt to bribe him." 10

It has beginning a factor by now in a factor by now in a releasibility in the page of any factor by now in a releasibility in the page of any factor by a deasibility in attended in the least of the factor and of the first Round Table conference.

Much you gatter was arrious to care Leferehard what safeguirds were to be incorporated for the protection of minorities. . . . A after was received by the Aga Khao and the delegation met under the control of the second of the letter was discorded as a letter was discorded as well as a letter was discorded. All were amazed. The result Muslims secured for their ration 12 out of the 14 points.

I not, a new on the eve of the concording plenary session of the concording their "last offer on the session were the economictee are imposing Hoch Sikh and Magdin and their session which man their Median parts for Bengal but both reasonable as me to red to a released Sikh or Bengal Hardu approval Significant their session which most other along session which most other accordance and their specifics of that has to the controllers of that has the session which most of the controllers of

home for the three of them. He was ready to leave the League to Iubal and his Fanjan. Insure I limits only terms unit gonition, arobition was to enter Parliamore, through who here or party would have here. Per saps he thought be out still be of service to Masam India for these or it not—de Privy Council remained, possibly even its Beach, as the crowning adherem in of his career. And the laws he read and received from India served only to confirm the wisdom of his withdrawal from that scene of chaos compounded.

Januah applied to London's Inner Lempie to let enambers that had ust fallen vacant without work. The Tenede's transver was none other than Sir John Sir Bono, who wrote to assure a mutual barrister triend Bhugwand in Dube that has Inn would "be very glau to have so disar guisher, a man within our own boundaries, He med not trouble about recommendations, a., if course I know a labor they get I min k I are a, according to our ordinary rule a wizels in an enterthink I are a case." I min be secured his chambers it King's Benet Walk before an winter was own as would take severa inner ein hold state hinting thorate the appropriate house "a three clared in art of the coolised style of the 1880's, with house "a three clared in art of the coolised style of the 1880's, with house "a three clared with the min more and garles, and a tall fewer unch give a silend lovew over the automating country." Set is the mid to dight nears of gardin and pasture on the intend's West II ab Bond. This brance was terry down soon after to death however and the unobscured view be enjoyed has also long since disappeared.)

Lord Willingdon was sworn in as viceroy or April 28, 1931. Before leaving Lorder he had her so a most if a meet with Johal in this into in A their Board on the morning of Saturday March 21. Though no record of their coversation has as yet a real light I was more a sound that he tween aid friends. I made anothers reterrated the Missim position, briefing the new various or all of the ites demands had been added since he had distinged in for every words. Willingdon's response can well be an agriced for he was always your in support of a vice in normal demonstrating to Missim levial by Hillings have been pleased to see how much inhalf a political polit

Jinnah hoped initially to enter Parhament as a Labour M P_n desiring to try the fortune of the ballot box in a party which in the main" agreed with his own "political creed." His uncooperative stance on several key issues at the First Bound Table conference had, however, left Ramsy MacDonald less than enger to further this cratwhile friend's political ambitions, and by Jinue the prime minister waited nothing whatspever to do with Jinuah, actually reluming to see him by pleading "it is absolutely oppositive for me to lift to another engagingent." Jinuah had by then gone so far as to

the Fabian Society ²⁴ yet even that did not make him sufficiently attractive to habour steadersing as a Commons candidate. To British workingmen open Junah hardly locked like a trustworthy representance one York as the Labourate was reported having said after bistering to Junah talk to may response to committee. "We don't want a toff like that?" By June, as the Janah decided to try securing the ood to run for a Tory conducts the abandoned Labour and turned to the Aga Khan for help. They the Conservative party was traditionally opposed to all Indian polarity of the Aga khan homself hoped to appeal to but, girlying afters a Musaru amands as the only effective internal continuous et of Congress revolutionaries.

on such such high-level help, nelisting the Aga Khun's personal to be a succeed to the analysis of the help of the

A of a constraint latha, analyvisited Sim a conferring with old A of a constraint where here for the fall legislative session. Sind is some for an analymittee either to report that There is no cohe in a connection of any sind. Needless to say we are all feeling your long security. Sind a Pilatro, the rader of Madrass Non-Brahman Justice party, had written Jinnah in much the same vein. There is no outstand to, in terminary had Moseous, here are many heatenants but no general From this point of view I thought you would have been very helpful to lind an Unity. Intringue and jealousy rampant on all sides. . We feel your absence very much har Jinnah met briefly with Willingdon in Sinals.

By the evening of August 27, Gandhi, who had been released from priron by Irwin and made up his must to go to London for the second doind Table conference, as he reported to Willingdon, not "without fear, trem!" ing and serious magic aga. Things from the Congress standpoint do in appear to be at all happy but I are relying upon your repeated assurances that you will give personal attention to everything that is brought to your not an "long long sent his "telerings and all good without," informing

Gandh. "You can entirely reavupon my assurance to you "22 To Rarosay MacDonald, the vicerox had recently written of Gandh, "He is a curious little devil-always working for an advantage. In al. ans actions I see the bama predominating over the saint?" Ganchi embasked for London as sole representative of the Congress. Jawaharlal wanted to accompany him, and many "friends" arged Gandhi to take Netra slong but the Mahatma refused to allow any of his colleagues to share his London and glit.

Junah teturned hone by early September The new pussport ae had taken out in 1931 gave England not I idia as his place of residence "HEBBERGE WAS WAITING IN Home was waiting in Hampstead and Dina was safely enrolled in her greater boarding school nearby Secretary of State Wedgwood Benn invited in his place of the previous of the second Round Table conference that started on September 7, 1931, but his rule was much dimenshed from what it had been the previous ear All eyes were on Candhi in 1931, for his was the viole of Congress on every computed as well as at the plenary viscous where he spots. The Filera Structure Countities met from September 7–27 under Land Sankey's charmanship. The next day the Minor ties Connectice was reconcurred by Huasa MacDonald with Gandhi jouring its racks it over the Tweet her IS a croass after which the entire Conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference and the Minor test to the conference and the conference gathered again in St. Jones Paine in the conference and the conference

The second Round Table conference achieved in greater in whan the first had done for all its strengons wordy have and well-meaning leaders. Sankiv Supra Gandhi, Amberdkur The near of the Unbuchabes, and Jayakur The ranks of the Mester delegation remound fire beating the line of their as vet unmet demands or the previous year. Though Lord Sankey reported that his committee had concluded its lengthy deliberations with the Tipe Gail as all Idada federation was possible as a spoke for the rotire Mission deputation which he wisted. Than site of the opinion that the a histernam and completion of the scheme of all Idada Federation must with he sets will be word time many years. No outstanding vital reproduction to the scheme has yet been agreed upon "22 Sir Shah, Nawaz Bliatto, one of Sind's wealthlest landowners and the father of Pakistan's 10 to 1 and 1 and

Mr C. D. Birla, one of India's wealthest millowners and Congress supporters, represented the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at this record conference and "frankly" stated, "we are not at all attilled with what has taken place." If Birla's critique of the Indian budget and financial situation was as brilliantly scatting as any made to the face of a British calance matrice. Birla suggested a number of ways its which to r le cit e British "mortgage" to 40 or 50 percent of India is animal budget be the voiced the strongest attack of the conference against constitutional sudge as a warning "you should not gnore the Indian investor." The Indian exists Brita argue. It is former of their leaders, "detests these safeguards which are proposed are not in his interest, they are in the interests of City financiers."

out new s last to address the conference starting his speech after mident. There more L. 2014. All the other parties at this meeting represent sortional interests," argued the Mahatma.

t engross mone ciaims to represent the whole of India, all interests. It s is a none regardation, tas address and oner, of rooms sul-A to yet here I see that the Congress is treated as one of the Parties. . . . I wish I could convince all the British and ea, the British Ministers, that the Congress a capable d h a gill, poods The Congress is the only al Inhawde na and reason need of my commend rates. at Master proper constshere and I repeat that without and of priorities being so ved there are Swarz for India t , free any his find a But I to not does a r of some day a her is an rest and hyng solution is connection with the cobleq is a state that so long as the wedge in the s in or might are display common to from currently exhault class a dis a line is sixing to ution there we he no ving to the a fact year construction. Were filingus and Mus-. I and Sibs always as war with one another when there was all the second there a saw hardest for somethere? as win is the marrel scor a with the acute shame I dare to say it is cooved with the British advent to

conspicts of mans fidid not feel confinent about the true strength of home in the property of the property of the pole and associate mader has a man in property to go to the pole and associate or more mile has a man in property to go to the pole and associate of conomic mile has a statement of the pole and associate or more mile has a statement of the pole and associate more more to the statement of the statement of the pole and associate more than the solution of the pole and the pole

that it represents the Muslims as well? I expert nothing to come out of this conference."

The discussions . . . during the past two months have been of value in showing us more precisely the problems we have a solve," concluded Prime Minister Mar Dona d. in his closing remarks ** And as positive and amediate steps, MacDonaid announced his governors's decision to bring the North West Frontier province and fill governors status, and to create a new equally advanced province of Sind two direct concessions to Mushin deviands that helped consince it e Mushin deviands that helped consince it e Mushing the status of the wisdom of its political strategy to date though the North West Frontier and reflections.

In moving his vote of that ks to to prime anaister on highelf of the conference Gandhi warned but it was som what I kely" that "so far as I am concerned we have come to the puring of the ways," and, acced, soon after reaching Indian soil he would be anested again a Bombay on Willes. dans order Jimah, on the other land, aged Br. as government ("give Provincial 4 tono a without a a smultaneously who responsibility at the Centre in British hidia" recognizing, as an Jid the otal a sossibility of getting the primers to agree to air i moral scheme for urban advised les British mends as MacDonald net nateo. Le code the colar anal question provisional.) I say this because if the British Government settle the corminua, question and make a substantial drance towards re-linearouslibits at the Centre in Breish India bot - ndus and Mahommer na will realise the carnestness in the part of the Cover in it and the bolk of the people will accept the cacersion. 40 The stage was this set for the next lecade of political togof war with Jumah's corsistations, formula preving in part prophetic in a rice pasing Builsh intertions, while Caudh, and his side traced themselves for longer measurerations and stiffer revol tionary resistance.

The next less view in London records be the quetest least pointed years of princh sactor for His division of the His division of the least as a record of the least set of the least of least of the least of least of

Durga Das confirmed this, noting that during their "excellen meal" at Simpson's, "Jinnah confessed his was not estimoured of his legal practice in

London; what he coveted professionally was a seat on the judicial Committee of the Privy Council Or he might try to enter Parliament." The truth, n to wome to be that he and succeed as well as not written to the but that so judy not crough to keep him occupied Parliament of course, was his goal, yet every constituency remained closed to him. The judicial can a true of the Privy Council had it neer offered well diprobably have every as much if a over as the appealing to to tromal In less than a line as there excel off every neth of Huapstead Heath and had probably eaten in every decent restaurant in London. Even if the theater on the judicial course, we have ascel off every neth of Huapstead Heath and had probably eaten in every decent restaurant in London. Even if the theater on the judicial council to the treater of the was cally nothing to tax his time in an engel left to his left at the man way of well in a proponents worthy of we gen is to various heal fifth the line a covered to have achieved a routine resembling the perfect tranquillity of the grave.

Ding was bus account but Ding was away at school most of the trio and home the for mot to take the was a dark-eyed beauty little and whater Ships her mathers in league was next or petalast as only an store a repeat daughte could be to be noting either He had two clogs, one to rim ole back Joher on the other a white West Highland factor the different away from of course but she was touch too se ejer too is with ag ever goarding by from "intraders and esionally women. She based any years he over like a Begin I had Ali know recaded. (the how she sated Rarte' I think she wast now seen prious of us a Wearser to ell her the weeked Witching In November of 15. , analy react C. Armstrong's to if Kema Marink Grey Wolf and sier of to have found his own refrection to the story of Tark as great conformat leader. It was all he talked shout for a while at home, even to - who meknamed him "Crev Wolf" Being on y thateen her way of a sign using him to take her to High Boad to see Punch and Judy The maced all impseud every Sunday was. Come in, Gres Worf take mo to a panto nime; after all, I am on my holidays."44

again in Allahabad before Gandhi reached Bombay and by find January 1932 both heads of Congress were left to languish behind British bars. Jonales London retreat could hardly be compared to the harsh, enforced solution of a prison cell, yet he must have felt almost as lonely and cut off at times in Hampstead.

Government's "Communal Decision" was presented to Parliament in August 1932 in keeping with the prime numster's promise at the end of the econol Round Table conference and or response to pressure from Willing-don urging swift act in to placate broate Mish is. That communal award assure I Moslims some 51 percent of the legislative seats in the Funjah, and just under 50 percent in Bengal, where special interest Europeans would hold the balance of percent in Bengal, where special interest Europeans would hold the balance of percent in Europeans would hold the balance of the proposation propurations in all Hinado major to previous. The thord Round Tuble conference ended on Christians evo 1932 with Secretary of State Sar Samuel Heart 1880-1950, a uno of ing that Musbins would be assert. I the full 33% percent of seat at in they demanded at the All-Ir la hed of Centre and that Orisso as well as Sind would become separate new provinces of British India.

In Carolin Igo a pumphlet was published that man written by a thirtyfive-year-oil Musing "student from the Pid ab. she callary Rum at Au-(1897-1951). Now or Never was its title: it was milittled Are We to Live or Perch for F cel The shadows lightent Al. identified house has Founder of the Pakistan National Movement of Laured three associates, also Calpbridge stacents. Moham ad Avan Man Shokh Mohammad Saviquand Ina at U.S. Khan who apparently empty to ited to the contents of this painphast which first publicated the name Pakstan "Rabmat Ales "proposed solution of the great Henda-Muslin's protector was content on be salf of the that's on an Muslims of PAKSTAN, who live to the five Northern Catts of Incha Projet NWFF Aghan Provincel, Kashord Sindh, and Bol Chastap emboding their mesorable demand for the recognition of heir sepaate attend status as distinct from the rest of India."4 While has early 1903 demand clearly derived inspiration, at least in part, from Iqbal's Allahal I at less of December ,930 the Cambridge founders of this Post in fait one povement, pasted that their pian was "basically different from the suggestion put forward by Doctor Sir Muhammad Iqbal," whose Northwest "unit" was to have remained within an all India federation, by unusting. These Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There can be no pouce and tranquillity in the land if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Thirdu-dominated Federation where we extract be the masters of our own destors and captains of our own south."11

Soon after the Pakistan pamphlet was printed, test mony by soveral con-

at a British officials before Pariameters Joint Committee on proposed Constitutional Reforms echoed that as yet obscure demand. Sir Michael Committee in 1864-1940 who ruled the Punjab during the Jahan Mana Bagh sustained and its martial law aftermeth, testified before that committee in a low argue glaganist an an Irdia tederation since "if the Federal Gover Committee in the Parial Management of the Parial Sir Michael and Management of the Parial Sir Michael and Management of the Parial Sir Michael Committee in Parial Management of their cover "I Italias added "Sir Michael Committee in Parial Management of their cover "I Italias added "Sir Michael Committee in Parial Management of the Proposition of their cover "I Italias added "Sir Michael Committee in Parial Management of the Proposition of Parial Management of the Parial Management of the Parial Management of Parial Management

The Kinds Canddock 808-1937 former Home member of the gover at 41 a conserverive member of Par ament from 1931) apnote to the state of the state of the Constitution of Reforms, It is a about the Landston dea by August 1, 333, when he asked abcall and of the North West bronter Province whether there is a whe I is I water of Provinces under the name of Fak stant " Y unif You wrong Agrarage know at souls a student's scheme to respon and the second of the second o magnets, however, stating "They have not so far, but . . . you advance the and it may be when those students grow up it will an a cold at setter a must be in the bands of the people anyhow." Mr. A. I. La K. a. L. 895 1982. The free-look year's president of the League at the me me nessars for gemeister had never heard of the word or in we cent Mr Isaac Foot, a Liberal member of Parliament, who, onlike took had a prior ladia extenence asked "What is Pakistan" Tuto 1 or A was served as a a kesman top the joint five member Mushm is a cit Mist Lie gar and the Al. India Musical Conference to the larkamentary committee, replied. "So far as we have considered it, we and of a mal and argeneticane It means the Federation title nees little block was all not wing to drop the "chicoreinal" subject, pressing on with, 'I have received communications about the proposal of forming a Federation of certain Muslim States under the need a see a new near near bear for Mistan and up the Dr. Khanda At a see eclings, as his enough to an that we such scheme has been considered by any representative gentlemen or association so far."

If J must knew about the Pakistan scheme at this date, there was no indicat in in his papers of such knowledge or of any personal interest expressed in it. Nor was d'he agrest in meet with Rohmat Ah the following Yanr, despite several attempts by the latter to discuss bis (deus with Jarnah in London "Nor was J anal. walling as yet to accept the Muslim League's invatation to return to India to preside over its annual deliberations in No.h. in Apr., of 1933. "I cannot return to India before December next," he replied to that telegraphic invitation from Abdul Matin Choudhury in March.

Besides I don't see what I can do there at present You very rightly suggest that I should enter the Assembly But is there much hope in doing anything there. These are questions which still make me teel that there is no room for my services in India, yet I am sorry to repeat but there is no chance of doing anything to have India. If the Hindus realise the true quairon. If he Hindus are seing fooled ... by chance any scheme goes through, it will be worse than what is at present ... Thank you for your suggestion that I should try and stand for exection as Six Bridge. Bah. It soled is going to resign Well I are to will I come to India as I om dy, it December ut any rate for a few months.

The schedalid De ember visit was for business, yet the prospect of reelection to the assembly clearly improved from It wo not Parameter angle one day soon it rought a most be Peelay is he was a up'y getting hores with Hampstead, essepar An K, an and his bravitable beginn arrive I that sun ter to add their occes to those seeking to har 1 mak horse. Ley had corn to London for their honeys now meeting at a releptor, where he tawired them to dinner in Jumpstead. You must come back. I in just leged The people need on You alone can pu new Lie pto the sagne and save it. Beguer I equal such like Beg or Shah Nawaz, appealed to him with the same vital glowing beauty intend's conthusins in and hern worship that Buttle had a splayed during their exerting ones, years of marringe. It's hear's fire as arabator began to oura agent with the revise zeed bri batace of the twill lift garw of lifes seven years. Liquid's na precations offers of assistance and flatters were of course an idea to for Jonan always responded to a wall somed at his go, has unique capacity to "save" the to hom. In I miles the gran and a hard to him was one a which he and be much of a dator than specialing to one another and never so taking Mark are again any in the country regarded when a new tital hagain a, word if her lights of Horpstead Heath Road remained dire And what great actor, after all, would not find the prospect of an eagerly awaiting vast audience (empting enough to lure him back home, at least for part of each year?

П

London – Lucknow (1934-37)

Journal returned to Bournay in 1934, but did not close his Hampstead establishing it or man or his City chair less. The new few years would be spent suiting back and forth between as we would share on her him seeking to pared out his days between now house the incomparitie and and training to keep a uself aftered to both time works will be a very mostly in the bo-

On March 4 19:4 the Maskin League not to New Delhi and resolved n heal the second major sput, which was to amended the party one year carrier when as act ig president paraster M an Ando. Ariz of Jeshawar, "fired" ad the secretaries and "attempted to transform the League into a party of his own. The Aziz Group, and came to be a led mot a Howersh across the Height from Case atta is October 1938 it car new legit mace but a month ater the Higgs at Crut p partied after its president Khan Bahador Hafiz Hidavat + psup, branded Aziz and his followers rebels. Hirla at Fitsa a one attended the Round Table conferences, where he had regularly met with I much Shafi and the Aga KI i and had supported the unified Muslim demands. The of the resolutions passed by his group in 1933 anthor ized the League Counce to much with Junian and the Aga Khar to discuss plans for "bringing about unity at the ranks of the League". Aziz teadils agreed to bring his group back to the League's fold if I much presided over a in field party. If agail was at first reluctant to somender his post as agendert but finally agreed to step down for Junch, remaining honorary societury of the League I must was an arrived by the count of March to set the date and lace of the 193 larger session by to he level booked passage to sail for London on April 23, so he could meet with the council only on April Land 2 in New Delta.

Ji nalt was given "un enthadactic welcome" by the furty-old members

of council who attended the proceedings that were closed to the press. After the council meeting ended. Jamah gramed to: Associated Press an interview stating. "The League is perfectly sound and healthy, and the conclusion I have come to is that Missamens will not lag behing any other consmanity in serving the very best interests of India. To condense the White Paper and does not require special arguments one has only got to read the White Paper proposals that is enough "8 Sir Summe Hoare and presented his proposals for Indian constitutional reform, known as the Wlate Paper to Par ia ient in March 193., The federation of india was to be a union of governins provinces and Ladian sties. If of whose "powers" would remain vested in he Batch Crown Executive a thority over the federation was to be expressed on schaff a Bratania king experior by a governor a meral aparameted as His Maiest is "pleaser" whose howers in chadrel st preme moman buf the tall has and a r prees a ladia, and who would personaut direct and constrol the departments of left we externa affairs and excession a affairs on strate and powers were the teunder the system it gover one deeped on store I and Junior was on of their most outspoken critics. A dearniral referal argust are your envisioned consisting of a charge of state with not mare that 280 mem iers 150 of whom would be encited from British luce as I an assembly with not more to a 375 carbons, 250 of whom would be elected from British India with the rest appointed to represent the process was ex. There were to be elever governors provinces anduding Said and Orusa, with the apponded governor are each regressering that Builds king The governor would be empowered to seast masters to seast non-in-relying his provtime during his pleasure. He would however be impointed to seek to select such executive aid in constitution with the person who, it has adjement is likely to command the a gest officering in the layer that " and to appear those heat pla post in the velo is immend the conflicted of the logislature. Such was the abuse of provides, an onorny envisionora by the Whye Juper. There were many elaborate safegua as and emergibey powers provided for the governors "in the event of a Breakdown in the constitution transfers the chr field a vigorous Fore opposition to the White Lauer in Mijelt . 19.3 but it passed through Larbarrient with a conformite 3 6 sept. idical cof now secure most largishmen felt with the new Indian reforms.

Jinnalsz strategy at this point was to turn back toward the Congress to see if its leadership night not in fact, be prepared to concode all that MacDonald's Communal Award had promised to Musilian's 'this clearing the way for Hitabia and Muslims to join force in a common front against the WLT.

Paper: Angered at the Tury party's rejection of his hid for a parksmontary

ticket, asgusted at the high handed way in which Willingdon and Hoare were running fram. I much hoped the firm was tiple for cummunal peace and was ready to aunch a new series of talks aimed at wearing Congress from a dependence upon the Hindu Mahasabha position. "Can we even at the seventh again our, the hatchet, had forget the just in the presence of in ment danger. Jinnun asseu Cangress in his statement to the Associated Press.

, nothing will give me grouter happiness than to bring about complete co-operation and friendship between fluides and Mushims, and in this doiline, my impression is that I have the solid support of Musalmans. . .

h is ansare in no way behard any other common to in their demand for tunns, so I government. The crix of the whole asset therefore is one we completely assure Muslims that the safeguards to which the fact is ful importance will be confided in the Laire Constitution of India?

Jorans will agrees to continue to work toward a united hallonal plat in a timber for more problemsh imports of the Largue like Sir Fazler is a red I ward Habout to be a rea with the awat of Chinatan on 1. 1. Linder a Misa or a order against jurious as soon as too ship disupnord course Arabau Scar hor son. They shell to female Parl manters II I at any convener by the named of whater " at it did not prove . Ive since they tailed despite Hadavat's vigorous exertions to convene or emergency meeting of the Musdin League's council to validate he will make in to represent most Mishous Old Hidayat's strenuous It is not fer a rational were responsible for his death before the lear ended. was north be me spring from that Mayles revolt against Jonan's " at s" send an strategy" of swinging the balast of Musion you for Gregorys to the British and then back again, which thus won " t st concessors for Mass as at every stage of the long, tough to a to aid a negotiated transie, of power remained his most effective mg-range technique

on 1.09 ton 100 Junuah was re-elected that October by the Muslims of 1.09 ton 1.10 to represent them at New De his assemb. There was in fact no contest since his was the only name nonunated for the seat he had first t ken before World War I, and to which he would return as leader of the assembly's Independent party. He sailed back to Bombay in December 1934 and entirend to New Julia in January 1935, Juniah wom thereafter met with Congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in What lawyer designed to the congress president Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in the congress Ragendra Prasad (1884-1903), in the congress

tined to become India's first president but their "heart-to-heart" talks failed to resolve the commonal deadlock. Fand t Madan Malaviya leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, who had also been president if the Congress, sufficient analty refused to accept Jimah's Muslim demands despite their equity. This once again the fate of helpiess mulions was scaled in a few stubborn leaders who retused to stretch that extra inch or representational concession to close the gap divicing linears plannistic society and accepting it constitutions. A tragmented The Jumah Presad talks came to "an if rutious end," as Prasad put at accepting the one Mashin leader capable of mining his impatient high sput ted community, into harness with Congress's bullock team.

In February 1935 Juniah stood on the floor of New De hi's assembly to atroduce an asse diment in the debate that had not begun on I want constribona reform. His live par proposal was to accur is Communal Award segment of the Why Paper "us til a selectivite is agreed more by the amous communities concerned" to ugge the removal of "objections bio features from the provincial government ser ion parties, ar. the establish nent of Second Chambers, he extraordinary and special powers of the Covernors, provisions relating to Power roles Secret Service and antigence Departments which ender the real control at I responsible of the Executive and lagislature creffee of and terro of the all Indust dent on scheme proposed for the center as "the origids rottin, familiandidally had and totally anacceptable " Bhalabhar Desat (18"" 19-6 Inodes of ac assembly's Congress party spoke against Jonah's proposa to support the Committee Award and Congress the not vote no my part one-it merely abtailed. I much proved hunself the most he hant parliamentarian is Be tish India.

My amendment accepts the Communal Award . . until a substitute is agreed upon be every the consummers concerned. New it males that our Hundo friends are not satisfied with the Communal Award but at the same time I can also tell the Hunse that my Muslim friends are not satisfied with it either . . and, again speaking as an individual, my self-respect will nover be satisfied until we produce our own scheme. . But why do I accept it? . . I accept it because we have done everything that we could so far to come to a settlement

therefore whether I like it or whether I do not like it, I accept it, because unless I accept that no scheme of Constitution is possible. Sir this is a question of infantities and it is a political issue

Minorities means a combination of things. It may be that a minority has a different religion from the other criticens of a country. Their language may be different their race may be different their culture may it different, and the combination of all these various elements to gion culture race, lang age arts music and so forth makes the minority a separate emity in the State, and that separate emity as an early wants safeguards burely it referre we must take this question as a policial problem, we must solve it and not evade it?

firm his argument carried the House by a vote of 65 to 15, with the offiis no and elected Europe ins voting with burn As for parts two and three . s proposal, the were to ed upon together with Congress supporting I've and he government of posed, at a those assendments care ed by an greater agony, such religion fel wel that has was but a "paper I a Suc dut As a no Parlament sould ignore with impaining but he a least dean is rated with a Brita's Lary with and to the Congress I so my monety your cound st he may ified, and it nod ded in ter we exist, strategit support to cars I was "Commons transto a Muslin the commends into a disjoints his tion bet it remained is jet al book trying to recasture and of no a position of our minlar, a and where he is confirm a term north ad carl, and the at a car high or are intigers, the Chapter a Boothey but Chaple to te il Mes no league o jecta a lis old boss appeals aid I have by my ag fast ab to togaste a thoroughly nowe immunal to accupit to its position as a tribute of the people of tit is a stateth arriver bowever, man was middle prepared , all your a nets that retained enough fact is her to creek him to in I state ahours the 5.5. Coste Verde to Longin again to late to the managet divide s year between the pages of any estabit is a control from the properties will be legal a manually as one seed in so harative that he reportedly earned 40,000 rupers per month (22,000 , at the Bar alone

before 1 is 1 or October \$35 be retired to Bombas to help resident of the following that would be 1 before for assent the following that would be the following the following that would be followed to the Government of India Act of 1935. That act was a large transfer to Government of India Act of 1935. That act was a large transfer to the following th

above a l. no advance towards agreement." Jamah felt about the 1935 act precisely the way he had about he White Paper that stred he "We all know that the new Constitution has been forced upon no he said on returning to indicate a 1935. It is now the duts of the various leaders to perform heads together and chark out a definite and course on other with regard to the Constitution. If he was created the Landau and the constitution in he was considered to the Constitution. If he was been the stronges, a take against if expressed in Lidia for Conditionally who had announced his activation from Constitution in he performed to the said to the conditional processing the said to the said to

I believe that it [the proposed federation] means nothing but absolute act fice of a last batter, may has store for and developed by the first of cars in the nate of angles as the regress to the form of Government. No province was consulted as such. No consent of the primary has been altituded in the array of federate as federating units on the terms which are laid down in the the British Covernment. My next objection is that it is not workable to

And before retaking his seat in the important debate. Jim L expansed who be proposed accepting the provincial nationals section of the new constitution.

First of all, the franchise emargement of the electors and voters. That is the foundation-stone of any Constitution... Next, all members of the Prayment Legislature will be exceed that a an account that can be the foundation of the Prayment will be a disclosured to the Legislature and the Legislature will be responsible to the electorates. That framowork of the Provincial Constitution is undoubtedly an advance.

Jawaharla. Nehru jad oecc released from prison in September 1935 and peri intred to leave India to jun his tuberer lar wife Kan ala hen I ving in jun in the period of the period of the I ving in the period of the long and for long in the period of the long and for long in the period of the long with British of both and Long in the long partition in the long is undersective in strict in India who had the reference for a strict in the North Country house, the makes had the fitting the long of th

The Moulton League met in Hombay that April, with J runh as perma

tent president introducing his old Lucknow Pact colleague, Sir Syed Wazir II san, the retired chief issue of Lucknow's tigh court to preside over the League's 1936 session. Fazl-1 i sain should have presided but the filness estiling in his death later that year for, d hou to without with Fazl-1 bit by disciked Jimah and will enths dear a month earlier. This not now go all of my way to be need to time. "I jumah gave and no opportunity to his hait resolve however twice postponer, the last meeting they had a collection of Saturday, March." 1936 then calling to say, he was too his hait concluded. It appears that he was avoiding seeing me."

The tenhas sess of the League and ated the slow process of transition in the sess of the season of parts into a mass movement with cast of such that sees of agin in the outility who could not not excellent a product is a sessing in every Minima (excellent active and vibraç of South vii the find a har in horizons as to be most a vibraç of South vii the find a har in horizons as at the transition of vii League of a country of the property of the product of the country of the product of the country of the country

A surratu responsible government with adult franchise, to lake the place of the present system

16 m f Il monal, repressive news are the granting of the right of free speech, freedom of the press and organization

that the colour comproyer, and an eight hour working any with fixed minimum wages for the workers

4. Introduction of free, compulsory primary education

British rato changing their scheme since as he put it, "Armed revolution was an impossibility while non-co-operation had been tried and found a failure." T effect such a constitutional transformation, however, "required all communities to stand shoulder to shoulder."

Supre an strategist of pend dum negotiations that an was Jinnah probed first at the weak points of one opposite side's their rished to the opposite side's exposed flank always seeking as he shutted his ground to raily his former "enemy to his side Small wonder little ides mistrusted him Yet carn tiedereated him, falling to see that he was, n fact the most ngenus advocate, then of India as a whole and oter of its Musicia a torrivalone extracting for each client the greatest const at ma, cuncessum which the Brits: and Congress, were willing to grant all every turn Just when one say thought to had him securely a re-core , until warled with again totally out of reach for example in New Delhi's asser to m March 1908 the Congress parts had tabled as adjournment motion of cense to against the govern ont for haring arrested a bhas Chanda was The Britis confidend staced that norrounder of challenge are only they had note that enough milependent , art a new to mit t down that as Januahural jobs with wrote it a letter to 5 dihas the converte in 14011 was masted by a majoral of three vites. Juneau and some of bis colleagues remaining bravely neutral "d

A month later Lord I shifting an repliced Lord Willington as viceroy, coming out to many nate the Coster no be had seen most as an neutral in high 12 to son letter and cross of an initiation of the purities and letter the later than the first one of his persuan impartable stating "Cod has indeed here good to infer he has given no five children. I love them all most details But among as a children to five children. The vicero's son, sho reported that speech also a rote of panels "The vicero's son, sho reported what speech also a rote of panels "received" to it as "o impute "adding in what more seen I nished vicero's pleady, of impartianty was a poor reward for Muslim lovality to the Government."

The cause money Je may sound decours the Mishim League almost six is after liques of the hand of the and a full three years after the first. I have a call for lancest, are the lockwess to stand "shoulder to shoulder with completions that I alto a may pathes at the nation. I can be for the control of the lockwess to stand "shoulder to shoulder with the late a may be after a formation the late. The lockwess to stand "shoulder to shoulder with the late a may be a lockwess to stand "shoulder to should be a lockwess."

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i vitra power mah's vision went event that scaring to encompass a the rich complete equal viazionig latens. English ad Inuia, or Pake se un gress remain d'as shorbsh as some or aix leaders persisted in heang toward his Muslim demands.

a strongt on the League, bolster its bargaining position, and help pre-... to confession, electron, In such was a thiorized at its Bombas meetand to appoint and preside over a new Central Parliamentary Board and are provinces parlamentary houses. These boards semilar to those in a bright d by Congress, wire I become Jornal's organ Za ional I y I had als power of the entire Muslin, community in was not by clade Man of man ger to a a deep noce from lift door promiin Man a ticara score his cate havel shiply met for the first at him or for Sell 1888. Sp. Fize died on like 9, removing I at I would gave four the versa or has a rike bigth I could was never at a role and was the support of lebal, with whom he met Y Lashore thirting the last week in May

I do f are tracible and a sessible in doing on utmost to see La hard braid south some representative of the Musiliation of at weeth comments first netting? He on I sla well r hers: I ouncil the Milled Miss on League a commence of the end of the same and the same and the comment of the commence ta a an a say t are, p the Post becometry var as lenders it. It is the first but reduced three feltite premiers of not I get I Kha of the Later true cas If S & heavards car Ht Bong and said Chinerger 87' 1960 of Bembas and the second section of the second section of retain were or an of containt algree and integrity In a to love More were see "weard sto a nation ? In treet in he are fourth as ness experience as well as er a bod a francial and a sheer a financial trouble most in . in 14 1 to o pu the compact value of our even though A is the first very pose a cuspical special to, majorita .. S not r for to about "I were returned regard! The a I m of Muhimidahad come to the League's rescue when it was still I to a all many a little representation of portion timbers after 191 but other patrons had to be recruited to share the burden of runiting a full little national party. One of those financiers, who later remained among , much's moscut personal friends in the party, was Missa Abul Hassan spalling b. 1902 the series of the wearthy Calcutts commercial and financa empire, M. M. Ispahor (Ltd.

market large to continue

"It was in the Michaelmas term. Ispahani recalled, "that Mr Jinnah ac cepted the invitation of the Indian Majhis to address is members. He were with distinction a thin streak of grey bast right in the middle of his head ... At the time I could well appreciate why women of diverse ages fell captive to his churm and personalit. "22 They met again in Loudon several weeks later at Ispahun's uncle's house on Putney H.B Ruttle's youngest brother, Jamshod Petit, was Is saham's Cambridge classmate and friend Jinnah and his binde were it vited to a "grand dinner" there where a "jazz band performed" and most of the guests cut capers"-except for J much and the voting Ispana a who went off to day hil ands walle R toe and her brother did the Charleston Despite such early intenacy amah and Ispaham rareh saw one another gan all 1936, when Ispaham was "asternahed" to be invited by I will to join the League's new Central Parliamentary Board After becom- a barrister of the luner Tem de as maan, had gone into his family a besidess and, though elected to the said. He corporation in .933 look little time from his ness for either provincial or national politics He did not however has tate to accept Jinnah's call and canerged as the League's major backer in Bengal

Henah's League was faced in 836 with two parties competing for Bongali Mashin alleg aree the analy of Dassus Line of Med a parts, and Fazzel Hairs Areshak Prom Samits - easants and Tenants par The tawab scheduce! a three day convention of his party in Cabatto's row's hall, hat Ispaliane and his friends or gineered a "dispute" there - mely August, by getting Fach. They and his tutioners to attend the conference and to demand to be heard, which raid to the conferences execution. "It was agreed between the United Mishm Part leaders and Fazi to Long's group to gode you to settle save. Ispaham were Jonnoh, adding. Wouderful oppout into created please leave for Calcutta nomediately advise date de-

parture,"xx

I mush reached Cale that week later and addressed a meeting of Bengali May at leaders in the fown half. The Latte 1 Muslim party agreed to merge with the League. The purger brought with vital leaders into Jirnah's ranks is H. S. Sill-rawards, and Khwaja Nazimidden, who would serve Pakistan buta as powers a grantal and princ a laster respectively. Initially, Fazhil to passe agreed, and penalt most to the Central Par, amentary Board. and be Suptenders I I. In Leba well his proud. Always one radical than traditional pull and travel or little proceeding court merchanisty, the erical contraction become as home on The attack of many of his change a control for a relative modellat Brown a conhere is not so be builted as I are correct as the arter and conjecture parties in the last of the period his more with

of traising additional taxes. Jinnah tayored both measures but misisted on jupo ariale legal payment for each. Fazh. Hags Krishak Proja Samiti ran its one slate of canoniates for Bengal's Mushin seats and managed to cape to a look so any as J. Hahs Leagle clid. Hirthy aght to his forth It was into at just before the new provincial assembly not that J. mah could negote in greenacid with Hag, merging their parties and juring enough Mushin solependents to job them an order to give the new Bengal infinity, at 1.15 to Hag hanse a leaded, a confortable majority and Jinnah made in their right that a differ to the League Next to League Ad khan who exist Juria most effectively as heriorary secretary of the League the vinitiation of Mah indulated. 19:4-73. Amir Ahmad Khan, was Jinnah's a root stellow the right of the treather than the conformal of the League Secretary of the League of the league

Fig. actions add attent by Janua's central hourd on which Muslim

On a relative one for electron in January-February 1957 vas much

Olson as act of Congress, including fiese advanced continualist demands.

To make every effort to secure the repeal of all repressive laws. To an a recovery of tarks which are determined to the interest of India which encouch upon the fundamental liberties of the people and law to economic exponential of the country. To reduce heavy cost of non-inferious machinery, central and provincial, and allocate a maintain finds for nation building departments. To mationalise lind as Army and reduce the military expenditure; To encourage devalls meant of Industries, including cottage industries. To regulate currency, exchange and prices in the interest of economic development of the country. To stand for the social, educational and economic aphit of the rura, population, To sponsor measures for the rufe of agracultural indebtedness; To make elementary education free and compulsory, To take steps to reduce the heavy harden of fine tion.

Each of these land long been integral to the Congress national demand, and all were snathenns to more conservative Muslim parties, such as the Agriculti rat purty of the United Provinces landords, formed at Governor Sar Marcom Hadov's instigation. The one clear divergence between the august a socioeconomic position and that of Congress, however, which reflected a basic difference in philosophy dividing Jinnab from Nebru and a thina Isane, was the Leagust's firm apposition. To any unovenient that aims at exproperation of private property. Even as Jawaharish placed Increasing util 11, sur a fat with from for India's problems of poverty. Juanah retreated more than ever schied the bastonic of private property. His growing passing

for real estate and his constant preoccupation with details concerning the dails management of his ever prohiterating portfolio of properties were in fact, soon to real his a terest in publics. Fire ate property most of it conver rooted on Todium and became informable enough, almost as fascinating a diversion for Junial's mind and energies turing the last lonely decade of his life as Pakistan itself.

I carnestly hope that you kindly will lend your fuliest sup nort to the prevotable demand of PAKISTAN-a demand based in some and wants for the resignment of a sacred right to a separar national existence as distinct from HINDOOSTAN . . PARISTAN is not Hindoo soil nor are its people Hindoostani citizens. . . . The very basis and content of our national life is founded on fundaments essentially different from those in which tempoors is a resuma prospers. . . . We, the Pakistamans, have, more than once, emphatically repud-ated the nost soumet; sweender of our naction to its made by the State of the field M s in delegates to the Round Table Conferences an rong after Innian Peder. Scheme They were no ther the delegates of PAKISTAN, nor the representatives of the Pakistaman people. . . These distinguished exponents of the art of nurrender in complete disregard of the warrangs of history, sold our nationality and sacrificed our posterity. They will have to answer for thus—the most contemptible betrayal of PAKISTAN—before history.21

I wash to stone is sudjoush to a nore Rahmat AF and his angry attacks, which were to become even more personal and strutent by the eve of Pakistan's birth. He would not however, be able much tonger to ignore the positional demand of Rahmat Af's obviously well-funded movement sponsored from the heart of Cambridge. The photogran adopted by the League's central board in 1930 inclinied, indeed a musher of important concessions to Islamic fundamentalist groups within India. If not as yet to the extremist ad-

Three out of Pak stan National Movement. Three out of fourteen planks in fled exclusively to a special concerns of the Musian minoralms 4x2 separate electorate seats alone were among those contested 14 . a cano lates. The League's first p and was "To protect the relitions riple the Massa mans. In all matters of purely religious character. n . . d . . h. g ven to the quarters of Jam at .I Ulema Hard Jandan 1 The Latter and at M. anids." Two later placks were "to protect and war sate Urdu language and script," and "to devise measures for the amelioto a direct conditions of Maxims. The indian Come party born dering he kin but Movement and the rentived dormant under the lead if M. Jone H. sain Armad Madon and Mar sea Ahmad Said had - the high of the Conference pirts in the Litted Provinces to conat a set a Musla, and Board, presided over by the raps of 5. I r that it Chin thry khal pazzaman at its secretary in Febhave all kills to take at a server to others of his small met with a red a tid our proceed a name to on the Leagues Unded a temporal stars one they joined follow it was one a families and the first is asserted eagle a right for months power the notes he deceler was thet note Board candidates all raprais Sint) and the changle parts estature while broaden ig the and a secret the enveloped could be able to parts apable of assert I can be at the Congress and the Artish out he right have to which is a final a to a reason of used magnitude the never later is a courts and neget at in from weakness talas and to none a so that is the day a tist his party would be an position to battle from a vantage point of strength.

Liaquat A Khar was, however furious at having lost control over denset. At some let a write res from his own province and tried his a region of the control over denset. At a research a more, he lackness seven on the Leagues to the relation as a more among, he lackness seven on the Leagues to the relation as a letter a research as the resigned from Lott par an enterprise the province and and ed off to England for a few mounts, limitable thus almost large bounds and one of the control of the cargorise and his transformer at a second or the cargorise and his transformer at a second one of the sound one of the sound one of the sound one of the sound one of the political judgment even when he most disting its impact or his personal base of power. Liaquat looked to Januah the way is British

public school box looked to a headmaster, with emotional embivalence but ultimate admiration.

Janual s indement paid off bandsomely by the year's end his League and distal us captured 29 out of 35 Musium seats for vitol its candidates competed while Congriss returned not a single Musium member on its own. Rafi thosed K dwar was one ted only because of Khai juzzamans help It was an impressive show of smength and had the League done nearly as well a sewhere J anah anglet have wiested some real concessions from Congress a haight leadership. In the Puritable owner only 2 on of 7 League candidates were receded, in Assam 9 only of 34 in Bengal 39 ons of 1.7 Most of the League is minoris, in Bombay and Madras were returned, and 1.09 Minoris League of assistance captured for the hall bath, was word. By fit and a own estimate his party returned from 50-70 percent of its total vursher of candidates. Congress alone wor 716 out of the 1585 seats in all eleven produces however emporing absolute majorities in most of the one of your tries however emporing absolute majorities in most of the one of your tries however emporing absolute majorities in most of the one of your triested only 26 Minde in tembers, a Adulties to of at notion to near dy through working rough trainers in forms control.

Nelsta stalking the compalge tend in 1937 mace the constake of refusing to take the Muslim League and the communal problem seriously insisting

There are only two theres in the country, the Congress and the government... To vote against the Congress candidate is to vote for the continuance of Bitable annualities. It is the Congress a one which is capable of figling the interment. The opponents of the Congress are much with a shorther by a constitute of interests. Their demands have nothing to do with the masses, 20

I refuse to line up with the Congress." I mah mosted when he heard veltax simplistic at a cost in Cacauta, early in anuary. "There is not it if a little in this country and hat is the Musicians" of A few days later Jimah publish warried Nelson and the Congress to "leave the Mislims alone" to assume a from India's Mislim electorate it seek to convert in cust mass of them to Congress splatform. "Mr Jimah . . . objects to the Congress interfering with Mislims in Benga, and calls upon the Congress in terfering with Mislims in Benga, and calls upon the Congress who todow Mr Jimah and the Mislims in Benga, and calls upon the Congress who todow Mr Jimah and the Mislims in Lague." "Mak does the Muslim Lague stand the Nine, sleep will putnifee useful and acceptive to the displaying the day are mislims. I have a constant to the constant to the constant timperialism? I believe not It represents a group of Muslims, in doubt in his account acceptant in printing in the Mislim increase and few incided classes and liaving no contacts with the Muslim incident and few

even with the Muslim lower middle class. May I suggest to Mr. Jimah that I come into greater touch with the Muslim masses than most of the memorrs of the Muslim League $^{-n_0}$

It would not be the last of Nehrus political errors of judgment in his is higs with Junuals, but it was one of the most fair mistakes he ever made in a momen, of hubris. More than Iqba., it was Nehru who charted a new this strongs for the Leage prodding and chanaging I shall to leave the I away rooms of polices to reach down to the hindred milion Musims who spent most of each day laboring in rural fields. There was, of course, I see possible way for the axing a test ribar mass to waken it, and to it is march behind Muslim leadership. The ery of Islam in danger of or ign done to ld marge as the mane stand of the Me in Long Naco the principle or poles Unds them." Neare had taunted. or many and a appendent " say in the assembly And for Jamah I was as say firmer at my gipe at transparently reggered by salar above at this as he Congress note resperation toso trap remake he had susand it has good to be the best was the secolar rational leadership. necking in vain to reduce a "Mahatma" to mere "Mr " Now Nehru bad used "Mr." before it mah's name as a sarcastic form of rebuke, for that title was he to lige is British tity I much appeared to pitonize despite his a Mos a boners a It was a mer scathag attack than Levaluers mal lump at the All-Parties Conference a decade earlier, Jawaharial was servicion per la fils kie after af am had reason to seel more confident if I supreme power over the masses, more hopeful about Congress's fu-I all the and a play it is sament of the past for norther not father not has wife had lived to see his triamph, to bear the hourse thouther of on hous of voices ery "Jawahariniji-ka-ja;" ("Victory to Honored Jawatertal", He moreover, was a man of many moods and the victim of the property of sweet from as a ratal opportings of sounder progressive by a surging inpulse of the moment. It was Nehru's greatest weakness, a a . . . man who is med to ment on londowship over all of linds and alered as leved that he was "fit to rale the world "20

Josech however, never lost his temper except for calculated political advastage. He used a ger as a burister or an actor would, to sway his pay a dience, never iron an uncontrollable flaring of passion. For personal passic and all softies in this and was never to be releasible. The batted he off towars Nehru was cold, born of contempt rather than rage. "What coal I say to the busybody President of the Congress?" Jamah remarked of Nehr. In an interview we went contains later. The seems to carry the responsit, ity of the whole world on his anothers and must poke his nose into every ling except contining his own business." A Congress president,

Nehru called a national convention in De.hi that March, following the elections, to decroe whether in fact Congress would allow its successful candidates to take the provincial offices they had won when the new constitution went into effect on April 1 1937. For Jawaharial this was another sore point of pride, since he had of en declarated against that "charter of slavery" and insisted he would never have inviting to no with his ong implement any part of it. Candib however urged giving the constitution i try as most members of the Congress. Work og Commistee wanted to do, and Nehru bowed to their advice. The rejused absolutely however to invite any elected Muslim Lawani or other non-Congress candidates to his conference, calling it "a dangerous thing to revert to an all parts, attitude" and insisting that Congress abould not cooperate with "semi-Imperialist groups."

Khali juzzanian who belonged to Congress for two decades before merging his Crat Board with for League it 1936, hoped the a Congress-League coality in government such ding horse I might be appointed to adramister the I noted Provinces. Muslim dafi K dwgi, their leader of the Congress at this time had been Mot lat's secretary and remained lawahadal's confident in Nebrusch, he prospore Kids, hard Khangezzaman were old tricials and it was hardly surprising therefore for them to discuss o coultnon-remarks with kide a promoning Khanquezuman "Iwo Mushin Lengtons to join the Congress Ministry in jor of his election." Nebru "turned down" the League after his victory. Maulina Abul Kular, Agad wis the only Mosat: on the Congress Working Consented a dominaged to wear the provincial Clema parts away rom its control bent to the Langue in mid-Mar of 1938. traid used the classic lures of a province of cabinet office with all its seducthre pergustes to achieve that Iranial cooler son. Hoof course, won Nelmis gratifud, and trust and was to preside over the Congress throughout World War II serving in Vehru's firs, call as its batter of education But he wor Januah's tridying error to To Janual. Azadis political treachers placed him reneal? contempt. This is wan to the knile. I man remarked after learning of the Januar-id-Ulema's flip-flop. 14

That Jaw Azad visited Lucknow and fried to negotiate a settlement with Khang zeroan offering to oring aim into the in-red Provinces cabinet if The Wee in Leagu group is the United Province a Logislature shall coase to function as a separate group," its inembers all becoming "part of the Congress Lart." It Leagues now in all Pat amentary Board thus in effect, agreeing to "dissolve." Khaling rightly read those terms as a "death warrant" of the provincial party over which he presided and refused to agree. Meanwhile, Nebru culled upon Congress committees throughout ladin to Internate rescribing a lightly measure."

Jinnah had never liked the younger Nehra but at this both lost all hope

dring to reach any agreement with him appealing instead to Gandhi sing the weighteen from intive points to his Wurdha ashram retreat.

Ma Jimah set Linessage to Canal through B.C. Kher the leader distriction of the agrees in Brinn are legis after and chief muster designate there.

I skell Jimah to give his two incuries of his Muslim League to room in Michin League to room in Michin League to room in Michin wenty nine Muslim seats, and Kher had the good sense to room in the michin and the good sense to the michin with the good sense to the michin on the michin and the good sense to the michin on the michin and the good sense to the michin of the michine and the sense of the michine of the mic

the firmula at sess a of the League was to be held in Liu know and I will I simus derit has dress must either galvanize his party to nagen toward a new destiny or would serve as its death knell. He must we are now that for a personal as we as for the League I so to a the as the east by we cough no Ispanara regular "smak thought rise unokers cough or trus dates Name d i / aw no it was not a visitoo late "to lk speak that some a Sills of Srang Kalma, the legal word do to his time in contract the ag Median Ir as premier advocate. Fabrua I as a to tak dime are a pape of an virtually exercishere from them on till he end of his life, as sister-confidence, nursemaid, sounda war all tot mer gainst the or -- le world. He period before the Japan 1 and kashmar high court in four cases-two eriminal matters, two civil-that summer. The most famous was the disputed marriage case of Treat in a discrepance Jorda woo his corts appear in the c II set us is priser knowledge. M. Lora I are the Authority as an accurate interpretor of is amic law *9 His prestige in the community was setels that no one dezed dony his claim, and, as usual, he won every case he N . E

Wherever Jonah went that summer and early full be invited Muslim by the county by summer at the county by summer at the county by summer and summer at the county by summer and be suffered to the powerful non-langue entered tochding the new premiers of the Punjab and Bengal.

Inertal Sir Sikander Hayet Khan (1892–1942) and hazlul flaq, also came to lacknow at annular belong the property and the fateful session of the county would agree to join forces in what was about to become a revisit and trated Muslim movement, alterned by Congress's victories and

Nehru's attempts to cut the mass base of their constituencies out from under their very facet if they faciled to respond with alacrity and unity to that clear and present Hindu-atheist challenge.

Jinnah came by reil from Bombay, and as his train steamed into Cawnpore (kanpur Central Station "a vast crowd of Musium mobiled his com-

partment," Jamil-ud Din Ahmad recalled.

So exuberant was their enthusiasm and so fier, their determinal on to resist limits agg essee. Let Mr., much otherwise call and unperturbable, was visibly moved. . . . His face wore a look of grim determination coupled with satisfaction that is people were aroused at last He spoke a few soothing words to pac vither inflamed passions. Many Muslims, overcome by emotion, wept tour of joy to see their leader who they tell sure would delive them from bondage.

He arrived that evening October 13, 1937 is Lucknow where twenty one years before he oas longed the past that borg I Congress am the League together that he first the most dependent that he first the most dependent that he first the most dependent that he most the second that he most dependent the horizon replacing that dawn even as the last of age have a sepalediral look to a most set drawn and thred fact. It is most account and Maharidabud lad gall erect a small leaven of League to uniterest to level their procession and the led their procedural and by setter on a torchillight error age procession through the winning steeds of the former capital of Nawab Viziers of Oudh where many a Maghal imperial has an increased on betweelled elephants. There was sensible at one place between the volunteers and some hot headed Congressioner." Khal the amount reported to no no of the opening valves of what was soon to become the Congress-League civil war, Indias political prelude to partition.

The Punjabs Sar Sakander and with Jameb and the League council next mortaing listing his demands for merging his powerful means party forces with the League He essentials anisted upon the retention of his party's total his autonomous control over the Punjab, where face League had elected only two our dirights six Muslim numbers to the eggs abuse Jerus I had no equiton but to a copt mights maliored Schanders terms gladly "stooping" to equiton but to a copt mights maliored Schanders terms gladly "stooping" to explain a copt mights maliored Schanders terms gladly "stooping" to explain his Punjab horan. The pact concluded that October 14 between British India's two most powerful Muslims was approved with thunderous cheers" by the conneil of the Muslim League had no real heartland of power, to core around which to build its potential court to authorized The Punjab was more than foul a bare Muslim majority provinces the Punjab meant Pulsatan, made Puk itan positible. Height was ton

14 Jote from the rest of Mus on India, as was Hyderabad. Sind, the North-Vice Frontier Bauchistan, and Kashmir were islands of Muslim domea to refer none was large enough, none strong enough to stand alone. The 1 . b was the mortar that integrated unified and bridged every one of huse other marthwest provincial users. The Punjab was Pakestan's first and nust important capital letter and on suring Sir Signifier into his party's and I had raised the granting with its grant P" over the League's Kaisar Im. It wall Carden" outside Mahmr dabad House, signaling the birth of in the ate nation, that was to remain so the wornly of British I id a for pre-" me decade F z as Haq closed ranks as we that fateful day in 1937 gainer of Easter in a to the matter of South Asian Washins now in that it as it By sall over Jineah know that this second Lackhow part he had go the world tear as inder he as workward ast as his first met had as It was not but usued tale for as at aid Socral wabarlal " Marcia could know it as well Soon the whole world would see of a seeing fred Miss in, a worthy mong that canorida white-. I se is and ecor plash mee he had set as a sul to. He had a red and are one can said as usign from long and New he had the pressure of the Panjob and Bergal to stand bethen a late of the war of specifier and this was a wag to be the on a glity mage flot, final value of Muslim South Asia.

To sept. The raids for salign as kess by the La know section not I I have plat out that political position bet in January personal to he can a her old her get on sheelding the has the Ron a ... all residions ack Partab dervant on contidented of A an Cya Lader Lathe first the men penhane the as at a broner of 1.17 in han specified right at Malier habad. He so and after breakfasting with the raje was about to leave for the at the discrepance of a death a black Persian at oup worn by Nawah Monammad Israel Khan (1888-1958), one of the grammet provinces. League leaders. He asked his friend if he might try on the compact can, which would soon be known throughout the world as a "jet mh cap. When he saw how handsome it looked over the white of his a deburns in a infrior be knew that it was just the headgear needed to give 1. M 1/2 costs me its crowning touch. At the 1918 Lucknew session over of a bad presided Jianah had worn a red fex, but since Ataliark bana cil or fee from modern Turkey it was out of style. The Jimuh cap resent, led if a fee but was softer, yet equally laterate in its symbolic significonce. It soon became as fatnoss as the flatter "Candbl esp" of hand-span ontton, which the Malatine and Jasenharlal wors. That cap came to symbolize Congress membership, ust as the Jinnah cap helped immediate y to distinguish and identify Muslim League leaders.

This Session of the All India Missim League's one of the most critical that has ever taken place during its existence. "minh began addressing the estimated 5,000 Misdons from every province of India crowded into the huge tent erected in Mahmudahad's garden.

The present leadersh p of the Congress, especially during the ast 10 years has been responsible for assessing the Masalanus of India more and more, by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu, and sauce they have formed Loverguerus as the sax provinces where they are in a majority they have by their words, deeds and programme shown, more and more, that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands. Wherever they were in a majorit and wherever it saved if the definite faced to co-operate with the Musalman support and the signing of their piedges.

To the Musalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tells on ever time. I sur your forcioust duty as to forme ate a constructor, and another and a more of work or the people's welfare and to devise ways and nears for the social economic and political uplift of the Musalmans . . Organize yourselves, estab-I shower so that is and mappeter infly high a yourselves as trutted and disc 377 disorders. On its the techniq of a respect de corps, and of couralty are st uselves Wask loval Lanciste and for the cause of your people and cour marty. A advidual or people can achieve me the se without ad a residering and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannize over you and intimidate you, and you may even have to suffer. But it it is by going through this crucible of the 5re of personation which may in leveled against you, the tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and introductions that may unnerve you-it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these us vallages, hardships and suffering and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty, that a nation will emerge, worthy of its past glory and lustory and will live to make its future history greater and more glorious not only in India, but in the annels of the world. hights infiltions of Musalmons in India have nothing to fear. They have their destroy in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organized, united force can face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is a magac lower in your own hands Take your vital decisions—they may be grave and momentous and far reaching in their consequences. Think a hondred times before

you take any decision but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man 's

As their great leader sat down every Muslim in that pandal rose to down sens ga new League ad been born that be some "mage power" Jimoah had taken his most "grave and momentous" decision and knew ith come to be the form reaching "that here would be no Lining Lack to lea and Not for his party. The Jianua what and come to Jiacknow still to it is now and entweet two words no longer. He left the old capital of high pewer time y rooted in his Muslim party's soil as its new Quandance.

12

Toward Lahore (1938-40)

Building a mass parts became the Quard r Azan's primary secupa on during 1635 and 1039. From us where is so must be known 1,937, other spring Lengue meeting at Lahore in 1940, the Mushan Lengue's memberal primethy phode from a few thousand to well one half a fullion Membership are were deepped after lancknow to half the meety not must four a unified charged by Congress, mying any Mind mode indicated it two a mass to his name to join the All-India Musham Lengue. The Lengue's constitution was revised in many other ways as well and moder need and a vehicle of mass national capability under its inspiring new great leader.

At Lucknow the League resolver to work toward "establishment in India of full undependence in the form of a feder, ion of free democratic States in which the rights and indepents of the Musalmans and other minor shes are ad quate a and effective a safe granded." Congress was denounced for emposing its own party inthem, "Bende Mataram". Has, to Thee, Mother" as the afficial new anthem of government wherever Cangress magneties fack pro-nein power, "in callous disregard of the feelings of Musinos 11. League considered this "song not merely positively anti-Is some and platmers or its aspirocot, and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genome national sm in India 2 The League turther resolved to a revers by a most ble to make Urdu, rather than Hada. "the universal rigging of clean. Fir all a commensive prigram of sompecones is not due to referms as a proposi I community the League "to As working hours for factory workers and other labourers; to fix minimum wages, to improve the housing hygienic condition of the labourers and make provision for slum elegrance, to reduce rural and urban debts and abolish many, to grant a monitorium with regard to all debts, whether decreed or

otherwise," and ultimately "to devise measures for the attainment of full independence and invite the co-operation of ail political bodies working to that end "3"

The week of demanding meetings at Lucknow took its toll on Jinnah's health He ran a fewer in his way home to Bombay and a hadrafag cough continued to pargue him. It was more than a month before he fell strong enough to vespond to setters from an provincial fleedemants including Mark Bark him. There not be not seen we benough to tack with varies a details that are referred to "Jinnah reprises in late." Vivenber 1807 referring to Barkat Aa's many complaints against Sir Sikander and his Unionist cohort.

St. Schander a "the true cut or at the Unions' League pact would remain famous thermost problem for is Barkat Updal and others with potential awareness in Lahori proof saw the Unions' stremained precisely as any had been before Lucanow. Possibly a ungiparty Sir Schander assumed his financiana. Sick consigues that Ji nati was now in his provide as the other way round. He Jinney in fact, copitalator, to the Unions enter a concerning the Leagues status? Was the cost of Sakanders as the price of enhancing his Leagues status? Was the cost of Sakanders are price of enhancing his Leagues status? Was the cost of Sakanders are price of enhancing his Leagues status? Was the cost of Sakanders and the one of the Panjah connundrum soon durit disconting over after Singaphers death in December 1952.

I much decided to shift the verse of his councils April meeting from La sore ox also the others he had been a late December 196 1. hangurate or Al Irdh, Mason Spaces Pederation Born out of a mercer of the Lacknow Missim Students Conference with the A Larb University Union and Al-Benga Mes in Students League tha federation was organized by Mohatimad Noman 924-2 of Augara, Noman and gone to Boa bay to 13th. I may be preside over his federation a first remail session. To the professionage. Norman recailed "I div not take more than a minute to get as a matter I amore toly very extend from to allow one to release the news to the Press. He got up and said 'Do it just now,' . . . From Calcutta onwork he Mushin stoderts marched under his gardance. I prigh and Fatting stayed at Ispahant's house in Calcutte, and some 300 Muslim studor's non- a North West Employ has been assembled to he i bixing kind States at December 30 He talked softs without dramatte gesture or emotion, expansing that at Luckney, "I have only rung the nlarm bell. The hel is still ringing. But I do not see the fire brigade. I want you to produce the fire brigade. And God willing, we shall extinguish the fire." The most memorable of his statements to that newly organized Mash in her brightly was that "We do not want to be reduced to the position of the Negroot of America." I must now had the youthful muscle and eadre of energetic volunteers his League required. The older Al. India Students' Federation, which identifies closely with Congress pranded the new Mushin tederation reaction and I communa. The raps of Mahmudaoad was elected president of the Al India Making Students Federation and Nonan served as general secretar. The federation's constitution instead among to objectives to a resist publical consequences among the Muslim students and operate them to take their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country, to work for the advancement of the remained and social conditions of the Muslimson, and to popularise Islamic cutties and its strugthen. The Islamic rengion and faith by combating anti-Islamic forces.

Soon after returning to Bombas in January 1938, anal cutrained again for Aligarly, where he received a right royal reveals on from admiring stadents, who are sted in marking his carriage theorie are from the sint on to Abgarh comp s three miles away. The Quand s A . r ce vered a nore cloquest than such speech to his vnothern six choer ag gardence to that intellectua cradic of the Muslim Langue, You Mr. Pres J. d. have said the Manual is born free amal to have "When was he freed in they country at any rate we have toes slaves for 150 years ". his was the first time land used the word slave or a public ddr as, and he will on further draugt zing the plight of Michine St. o 1988 however | 1 ml secret his wildly cheering a context the Mid in Lingue had not to zerl uself. Ind. The freed the Miss mans from the coatches of the Bortish Covernment But now there is ano her power which claims to be the soccassor at the British Covernment Call this what vernames a Re last a Ham, and I ide Government. The closed with the glowing promise that the cooper "gotherney the precious states, tables, suppliers and amonds, the scattered mergins and talents if the Musler comments, and when on have got an artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of"

In Marca, 938 law abanal was succeeded as Congress processor. Being as 3 blass handra here or forth one cents of age and herearchy freehouse. Such as the succeeding his marker of leadership to bose. Nehru wrote Jinnah. We are eager to do overything in our power to put an entitier of a superhermon and to adeavour to so ye extra roble to the entities of a developing our with the among right lines and at a standard arrangers if the linear people. We are asked Jinnah to flet me know what exactly are the points in dispute which require consideration," to which Jinnah rephed. "But do you think that this matter can be discussed, much less solved, by and through correspondence?" Jawaharlal agreed that it was "always helpful to discuss matters and problems lace to face," but "Correspondence? et pin in this preserva and sured man

a coop preferance as it is more precise than talk. I trust therefore that you will be clarifying the postupo by the gus where we differ and how in world like his difference to end "I Junah, however was most relictant to it there also written debate of differences insisting it was highly undeal to not mappropriate" trenchantly arguing "You profer talking as in the whereas I prefer talking to each other "urely you know and you ought to know what are the fundamental points in dispute."

I sister not on , i por ful recognition of his League as the "one have tree political bad. Broom bus a representing all Muslims but I. In . I are not done to Can be of the convalent role as spokesye to be his breaternances inspective neither position was tera a rate of the ew Bot a no better a m of a nedicy debate? Recon of the action of the way after all the actions he wanted at this 1 al. with a more to tru no his cause of criting the h use man of the clear and resent danger if a Undu Into the of Congress and it oppositioned a 49 is sufficiently or central, part if or even potential, would have taken the wind out of the a self seeing is as pore train off or all direct growth his if I was not a psed in rating of stacks (see gold Version who curus for the feb re of his faith in a land ruled by hosts. It whose To at the term is given three diest as now a startment pick no speed under he I wind would have been suicidal to Muslim League prospeebs , timals in ght easily have acquired the concession of a few seats in the don my and other provincial colinets, but he would certainly have lost Pakistan to the process

Nor about, the degeneral we alliests a of Januai's longs be inderestitated in explanary his religiouses to embars on a break round of negotiations. He became more tests as the coughing and discomfort increased. He required more privace although his tolerance for crowds had never been high unless he was on stage orating. If shall be arriving on the Lott [April] morning with Miss Juneah by the mail." Jinnah alerted Ispanam in the spring of 1938, adding

As to my reception, please see that some proper order is kept and that I get home within a re-sonalit frue decases these long processions, taking hours and hours, have a tremendous strain on one's nerves and physical endurance. Therefore you must try and see that I get hours I a 12 octock and lave some rest at any rate in the afternoon. You must have read in the papers how during my fours to Abguit at a Meeting and other places I suffered which was not because there was at thing wrong with me out the negatives and over-strain told upon my health ¹⁴

Nothing could have been core denuging to his plans for the Leage. If an to permit rumors of too frequency leads to a local tool to set to a path. Personal well an given morspersable to police I power. The encoupling a sail I sail had spots on the leage has would never of sample of wood have standard his charrism. If the spit with a whole who leave that each list charries all the standards in the least to alternate in terbules of and previous freeze a very well longer persons of cook seemes along which has no because of

To help assure has some more I mak remodeled his palacio is res. dence for Mount P, asant B and atop Malabar Hill in Bombay wit in was en more than 15 000 score and a land that residence was core suxlern and samptaons that the small through it on Little a bbs Read. where he are I arise had I sed. He was also in the process of redecor-ing a sumptions new a agree the hought at No. 10 A gamgedy Road in New Ded a sour diplomatic schurb. That ast establish ien present serving as 1 . I herboards . thouse was torond to in thours, & Cirlon in much the said tale as his lamps ead once had been A new a was surrecover remined to go with the New Delha residence and Jonah selection a goory caloned Packard band with green, where thousters a real curtom organ I glate and west in the armong to many at us Evented able Ispahana I relied 110 or en up and paperwork through Khu tan Motor Co atc in t alcords and the course of such earth gas, apported vehicle then come 1 4 "10 1 are I and the post was very well off financially. His A LEE of the tell of the service of the sound months recome of more than 2,000 supeer. His standard legal fee by then was 1,500 rupees a day the highest in India, and in addition he carned no less than 40,000

suppers in dividends from stocks alone in 1936," reflecting the value of his

at stime I had was able to report that Washin League parties" were a respect, of his seven of British ladia celever provincia legisla to an it may airst ; it those Parties is acreasing ten day "" to I would's a tractle langues blocked ain the central legislature, Log cond are had been elected by elections head since the was care as early on 7 "The Congress sall adu and month" 1 . 1 . 1 from Calcut no floodby ar mahouter is and April of 1938. Mar one cour mon this one that her der the spession of and the late and personal laws, there's another question, t nel nel a ann and that their feture destine and fate are to a process of a definitely their political rights their due has I see a feet too the end du adu sistration of the ar agent a right he last dity, and a the dreams and nothe state of the properties which is the submerged or dem man the siss a sit ender so mag as there is afe as them "finnights a a 1 torgress to respect and tear" the Muslim Longue after the enfowers to depend news or themselves and to may be mess beept. Must am of course had good reasons to the terminal and the larger deepfed to collect all complaints a time reserves to all doud pase rether as broadly as posall all a classificat special committee under Rass Syed Then I has of tope to such that the companies in every Congress I se of , sa as well in written testim in from aggreened A - 1 Los A S - x is ted his report to Jonah a meath before the Lengue's annual December session

the second and second by the structure arrivals seeking to are considered and the second and second and the sec

I am carrying on, but it is galling to me to think that I have lost the sell confidence that I possessed may a month ago. I have mentioned this to help you to examine the proposals on their ments. You will not his tate via manil to reject it it is one not common itself to you in this matter you will have in que the lead.

Nelson did, in fact, turn over that task to Congress President Bose, who came to Rombay and met with Jinnah speach. Mar But those talks resolved nothing, only rocking the growing distance between Congress and the League mean public apparent Im a convert toward with us passed for converting the League man Workers Cam wither "High continuous which met us Bundas on June 4 Pass." It was a strong or on an entire that I have been public to the hard beautiful to the hard beautiful to the hard beautiful to the hard parameter and assemble that I have been public.

gress or the British Labour party.

Nels a said from Bordon ast two days before he Loague's High Command net and reachest hagland before the end or the where the spent a waxer with Cenent Affect Staffor Cennis Anestic Be in Haroid Laski and other combers of Labous a shadow countries an iss the nexus la which the new Lubor greening well ander ower to India 2 V A Krislate Manor a 1806 , Var a London host close friend and jubisher had been are or Laskis disc piec at the London School of Feor sover and he petrol assent to any Las Jaughter In Itro for that the chil weekend at Coppes country load. I has where so much at Lidias tals quent princal cut to was chart of William Sharesh Civin War it to blaze and han the sport tien so the ent the race of morning Nor atrieff is all our was fider that its for at the help of Wer minited could not be delayed much long at Both at File is and in some sespect, derviews Vel ra was ven outspoken in his lift cash it Chamber has any arm and british oreign policy is subjects renormations and a manage taxenst tigres on he wister. As so the it is branging was never whatever reprofessions or I feet India must be erate firmly what it has already declared, that it will oppose an imperialist war "at

had isposee attacks against every policy of Chamberlains govern out least in a Read to per acors much more sympatters and receptive to Jinnah than they had been since the first Round Table conference of the conference of Bombay and then at Bengal, movided much and soon after the conference of the co

as no tast firsts provinces and princes, states that was to have been the a sin of the Government of India Act of 1.935. Secretary of State Locd Act. I have been reported Bra instruces account to him of that important of some ingregional actions. A 1938. Jamab coulded up with the sin ingregional states that the should keep the court as it was now that it is the should keep the court as it was now that it is the should keep the court as it was now that it is the some sense that the same is the same in the Common states at the same is the state of the state of the same states and the some which is obviously paid to the court of the same states at the same states and the states at the same states and same states at the same stat

The first are the glovates to a low the government to enace its home. More a sent all however has a more en support of martial tweet or sail it we have been been been been covered between the control of the control o

A first lab. In the developer of reconcession with the Concession of North Research in the contrary of the con

with the present Congress leadership in power, than he had at any other time during that year of speeches. For what could be more affective, after all, to a man of his sens balance and references, than to find himself faced with a rabble of the could intraned. Himma officials", a province after province—including Pombay and Sinds What better reason for him ω return to the side of his British friends and colleagues?

at is no use relating upon any one else " tonab told by Maslan League followers in Kira-to the Liture cap alor Pakistan. "We must stand on our own wherent strength and build up our owr power and orge sanctions behind our decisions. If the Misalmans are going to be ditca ed in their nationals good and as are consult will only be by he betroyal of the Misalmans among us as it has bequested the pass of his was Jonan's first public reference to his recent cross ved autional goal" or just and people for was the vagrant unabused red term to the was not quite ready to reveal is long range a rategy to, there was self much organizational work and institution for idea, to be dura. But his mattle plans were drawn, and surely he plotested too miles when he I had with acoust our rony "I wash to make it clear that I up not fight up the I ones commonty as such not lave I am quarrel with the Hand's generally for I be many personal friends usuong a them." Less than so a rea as ear ier I jbn bad succembert to the familiary discuss that Is a new Janua La keade later for Schander alone ret amed his potential my. result he basecra Music reason Jor ale levited his self-instituting by to the about of birliding the Exague by buring at Man, is your meet that he alone could properly guide his 'en litren out of condage to Hir tide cana (Le "outcaste status to which his Brahman rivals traditionally relegated all Muslims.

On the manage of October 9, 1938, Karnel, v District Board formalls welcomed the Mission Lasgue and its majors 9. Sucander housed the League's green flag with the solver crossent 1,000 and star after which Jinnab was presented with an "rou address in a selver tray Karach's key to its ut." I is a waster of pinds for the Town of Karach's take. The Jinnah, a person of soil great it natione and a well known statesman should have been four and brief within homeomorphisms. He was also calculated in a catter of the Companion of the Mission Binatur Allah Bux (Bakhish). United partly premier of Sind, who though a Muslim had carlier refused to jour forces with the League Bux's coalition government relied mostly upon Congress support Jinnah was determined to add Sind to the League's still pality provincial list which consisted as yet only of Herigal and the rather anomalous Punjah, both in fact evalutions. After his strival in katachi on the tobor 7, Jinnah had ned with no fower than twenty

Most a tembers of the maltuactional Assembly, convincing them all to a first and finally persuading or so he behaved. Allah Bux to join his party as well.

"It was agreed that one solid party of the Muslim members of the Sind Let Assert by should be formed as Mus in League Parts. Jinnah to me all 1 lish on statement to the Associated Press list a few days later at of and as Maslar manisters promised to resign I must explanged if the larger part election was to have been beind to choose r new r ner is non-nous vot. o is default he should be nomenated I A joe is in early would abide by his choice Far , the next not use, less set, and lorned that Sine's leader of the Unigress parts had a ... Sar at V Habl char Patel 1875-1950 president of the Atin the congress had a meson. Boata to abort from to the League's intertto a, and "When we met at 11 a clock on the 12th of October 1938 much In a shore of year one Khan bahadur Alab bus backed out of was a smook day each gross asach of land acreeousy " Jonach the participation in the state of and services stands for II 5 Abdelia Haror 1873 942 to appea that o got to at a . In the acts during a that the latter "was in the a world angrees art, I was a next better all or J must to small a I am Those of a rel I must account tent province of Sand water a state of the track of forces being convinced that as a Me a hate's present and sames excels Mashar League goveri t Next Sarefair to ogness sind a man the scenel organs increase La and the School state, as every report gloss about spatiched this plant from much's ton just as he was about to savor its sweetness.

In war giver expect are organ. Samuer batch for having "cheaters for 6.5 or many gibts not a coverne and from an der bereat the view most of the angule "Yen bar arrows uch rived tritumply but the dogs of the samuer was a samuer of tritumply but the dogs of the samuer was a samuer of the samuer was a samuer of the band news. "I have not the least doubt that the house is at a samuer of the samuer was a samuer of the samuer of the samuer was a samuer of the samue

For an Post (subset) a back port of November 2018 I was not below the house the first that the larger agreement place with the Mushim Lengtons ling on the covern by "general survey" opening was a visually approved, if not draften, by Januah personally. "The communal mollom i has a has long defind settle unot," it began.

In our burble opinion, however the problem is a real nor and the same to sail and to make the con-

munal problem can only be solved when India as free India can only be free when the communal problem, a solved Such a circle can lead us nowhere and will only make the country a prey to any foreign emploiter.

The communal problem remains unsettled not because of the communalism of the minorities, but because of the communalism of the majorities.

The report went on to list specific instances of Hindu Mishin conflict is most of the Congress ruled provinces after late 1937 Official Congress pour cies were beared for destruction and harm to Mishin property and lives though not much detailed evidence could be see and dish hat she mapple.

On December 10 1938 Maolana Maxharaddao Ahmad, ecutor or he Mosani Delin daily 44 Amais prososed to his newspaper that Jimnah he called Quard. Aram by all Muslims to recognition of his status as a great leader. At the annual meeting of the Louis is sat a that mouth, John is new tale would be cethor astrony, shouted for the first tip. In ye is a little as who wasted to greet in right Paina's or Radway Station. The severemile journey from the harm station to the beautitus great silk cocked pendid in which the League held its three-day session was lined with covern h Mishous, waving dags and shouting Quantit Azam Zanhahard" "Tief iv to out Great Leader" Need Andr. Arar he popular leader o Bih ris Li ted parts, chaired the resoption committee that spaced a labor money continue to organizing that most festive gathering of tens of thousands by the neart of one of Haids India's ancient bushons of our tire and power where in the sixth centure at Bodolia tiau august his noble froths of the ad pervisivo nature of sorrow made that is a transfer or and several continues later the Maury an Employ of Ashola Sorrow ess and the message of pain, advocating love (shimes) and law (dharms) as its best antidates

The Congress has now you must be aware a lied every hope of Handu-Mushum settlement in the right not a basaron of Fascasto and Quand advance you also generated on the right of December 26, 1938, to his encausastic

The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled to speak or a helalf of the whole of India, that they alone are capable of delivering the goods. Others are asked to accept the gift as from a mighty sovereign. The Congress High Command declares that they will redress the grievances of the Muslims, and they expect the Muslims to accept the declaration. I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts. The Muslims want no emecasions We, Muslims of Ladia, have made up our mand

Congress represent the Muslim?

Longress represent the Muslim, a Hode body I ask does the Congress represent the Muslim and the Congress lead to the congress the congress represent the first presence of a few Muslims, the few males at a significant make at a national hour I challenge and odd to have the Congress to not make a Hode body I ask does the Congress represent the Muslim?

Who is seger is behind it? Mr. Canchi, I have no histation in saying a trice. Mr. Canchi who is desironing the ideal with which the interest has seast settlets. He is the one if as responsible for I many the is up to sea to the settlets as each for the revisal of indiana. His case to the settlets are not entered in the object. To day the settlets of the congress of other this object. To day in the settlets are the settlets are the settlets of the congress of other this object. To day in the settlets are the settlets of the congress beaters.

The norm of the stand has Alast January and successful like and the stand has Alast January pends on every our successful like and the standard has a mindle goad has pends output for for the standard like and successful as not complete he address of of sources of the standard like and successful as the standard output like and as address of of sources of the standard output like and the standard output like and the standard output like and the source of the source of

The weight of the transport of the League to discussing the care of a various of the Wang Council of the League to result of etc. of a various of the Wang Council of the League to result of etc. of a various relation to the care of the Machinas's By result of the Machinas's Care of the care of the Machinas's Care of the care of the care of the Machinas of the Machinas's Care of the care

ing "that the problem of Palestine is the mobiem of Mashins of the whole world and if the British Covernment fails to do astice to the Arabs Indian Mashins will be prepared to make may sacrifice to save the Arabs troub British exploitation and Jewish compatine." In discussing this resolution Andri Satta, Khain said had both the British and the Hindus were Jewis to Mashins, that is, their energies at lact a Mr. Candhi was the leader of the Hindu Jewis. "Anoth a League delegale, Abdal Khaliq unissted that The real Jewis of the West were the British and those of the Last were the Hindus, and both were the sons of So took." Juniah intervened at the political and such statume to withdraw, in "sons of So took "Juniah intervened at the political such statume to withdraw," in "sons of So.

At Patria the Mexico League read ed to create a Mosilia women's education to be acted by Educa; it also which would on order to retain serious trees better the education of from every proving a well as treas Delay Severs, women in hat committee, we liegal, shall be ward different large had been enabled to the repoleng the orders of the friend large and the repoleng the orders of the fine all to the repoleng the orders of the fine all to the repoleng the orders of the first and the continuous Began shall be an about the first and one women to serve on the Mosilia Leagues a most from 93 to 1937 when she fine for a first moon to this serious gap to League in considers up and appeal. He then non-nated a Maximi women's content some distribution to this serious gap to League in considers up and appeal. He whose spectral in were women like Began Sawan Stagues As Khaii of language who recalled.

I met the Quard-i-Azam in 1938 at Patna. . . . I used to wear burga in thost days At the suggestion of the tribbard I put off the burga for the first time in a tribbard in the Quard Azam. I I knew that he was an extensed at I hasken error who was greatly the cross out the drawing room, my oyes were fixed on the floor and my feet were the drawing room, my oyes were fixed on the floor and my feet were the able to be a large of the floor and my feet were the able to be the fixed on the floor and my feet were the able to be the fixed on the floor and my feet were the able to be the fixed on the floor and my feet were the fixed on the floor and my feet were the floor and shook hands. My hurband was very happy to see that, as he knew that I was the daughter of a renowed Qaza and had strong religious convictions, brace ha was skeptical if I would shake hands.

More conversative delegates at Patria protested lendly against the resolutive to a least Montal and the resolution to the transfer to the transfer to the resolution which, they said was sacred to Islam for Jimush, however, intervened in support of the new subcommittee, deplocatically arguing strict construcwhich are steer that he was, that the resolution on a stated that women and the way in its opportunity to organize themselves under the League in order to support it."

of I raght was becoming more in find. Congress was infronted n) tage for power between m tan voreg president, Sublins 1-1 it this colors our servative old guard ied by Gandh. Bose would x 1 " " lat an a Notal. "Great Lunder" to his growing arms of I was speciall englishing students who shared note of Cauch's a at a stas of our al at on When Canally decrard twould a st c great re or Rose in 1959 with Mardana Arad Pattable NITT a Jea Lam Notice opened to light ter the honor of a second that was less to your Congressia fast mereno electron within a di Bose an a stone go 30 views to 5 tor micras 1,377 He benevar found it use the manner want so he received no cooperation form as a de & k g Com no ex and his health broke down to . . . I to ulden a large if so put from his parts a nacture. So had a to a be a of d as our cas I borward Bloc parts Soon after at rong the east open as he he Branch, escape, to German and and an elstrated tipe true amand oppos to t Di Lip id Trasad Cap any lova Bihar disciple replaced Hose as Congress president.

Tu Know to loss har Jun by 1939 appearing to him to con-" s att stjaal teastal posete " Countly was . I the comprehence how with he braght and argon Nebro to seek intermution from Jinnah about the so-called atrocities in Congress ur a ser men, we I while II con pur air pub she charges and shows on the greet har" of come to ght atte to all a n con their let on no 10 reports from B base in the man and and throw a sof Musias who were vo to note 1 s. 1 Sugal who fels 93" and Argust 1939 In the it a same officers or hargen who whomat He less not guerring I was a way he was the other The noted mises of land Man to wer to ser as lot didways been conflicts yet at is a second support of the orthochee recigions the it the state of experience by a section of the statement nat begil is a series in A is potential of a referent I particular spr Kins ar I Killa V 1500 distant All the life to tolk in the state of the sta cet by a new rich start for y beet ly see y to object the same of the sa Maruph (but no ships a set Map us and

out their sacrifice by torce at others they burned or robbed Muslim homes and crops while heir owners were at prace: elsewhere they attacked litter the sacrifice mided reportedly shouting "Ginshi ku Ja." before kelting or imporing the sacrificers. In his williages, Mischiers were forced out of business and Muslims were coerced into giving up be feating." Sometimes randous marriage pathes were the spurial others that now prayers or the abduttion the minor. There were reasons one glid or conflict in nost in dianvallages at any time of very flavor. Hays report cauged official doing, however with consistents taking on vine sult in such peresting at taggers. "A Police Officer took on the abunerssion of a Mischier has a agricultual warning, the regort to perform any sacrifice, in Causpur for example." It is

Some Greenences of the Missions. 1939- 536 in hard report ethidar to the Papin and Facho Haceon platons was a mished to a 1939 by the Penh cits Committee of the Brant Provincial Mission and an deed to charmanalist of Mr. 5 M. Share to Platon. Confin. gitte in rejorts of atroctices against Missions concentred in Babase (1) Sharest 1 gase was ful more detailed and extenses that softs previous ones or which if wis based to specify an adverted and extenses of papersons which was its and and recommended to congress anders by a root Mission which was its and and recommended to congress anders by a root Mission advocate. We asked Hassian of Pitra's high court as afforcing "opinitumely to make enquires about the correctness or otherwise of the stretch is recurrenced."

As reports of more its persecution could with British official and fference mounted. Jamah great more tristrated and at give of the social and British alices fearing perhaps that Lord Brahomes emexpected coals of causer costs in 1939 left and at thou aim effective support a Now high Lord Landingow who still adong that a very left to his corregal term, seemed from Landing prespective partial to Caustry and was sixtly a committed to the strong he rederation capstons of the Act to 1935 he person as had done so much to formulate The sound be adopted only by a united social new Ancests Larringon sixtesses at every major address his does come should upon that it prends the position are seeding of Taum before the nations, and her capacity to take her due place in the world."

For Samuler's 1 nor stiputy — Purpare Hordes Mes instance, of the research to the problem for a some of the research to the samular than the s

But slow martin pay pensions and stores in the Projab alone of threatened by Lorlingon as well as in Sikander Fearing of the about the projab alone of the about the projab alone of the projab alone of the project of the project threatened by the project threatened to the project threatened to the project of the project

Set a most russibly approve of the Hadge as I has been presented to its because we have no lot or share in its Now, Sir, the position of I MFrod Master I e.g. it Party in this Hause is a very peculiar one. Portunately or unfortunately, we hold the balance in the House. If we are supporting the Government, then I think the Finance Members of the most be the of its satisfaction, and he can carry this Bull without a commo of it being altered. . . Sir, in the past we had the few of the satisfaction in the page the see would may not it.

But, Sir, I see now that that policy must be altered. . . Why do you expect us, I ask the Government, to draw the classical is not of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue the new of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue

" on I would not support expand a of the pool of mount support of the support of

At file dangerous time Jinnali seems to have sensed his own perilous formality as well for an May 30, 1930, he signed his last will and testument, however, it for an Araquat Al. Aban, and his flombay solicitor, Malhomed A. Charwolla, jour executors and trustees of his estate. "All shares stocks and securifies and current accounts now standing in the name of my sister. Patt in Janah are not absolute property. I have given thous all to her by

way of gifts during my life time and I confirm the same, and she can dispose them of low in any pranner she pleases as her absolute property. We have left her his houses and their contents, his cars, and a lifetime income of 2,000 rapces a month to be paid from his other projecties. To I so hereco other sisters. Bahemat Cass mbho: Jama. Miniam 4 abribliov PeerLhox and Shareen Jinnah he left a living of 100 rupees a month, as he did to his brother Ah red For his daught r not us ned is the will Jamab set spart 200,000 supress to be invested in order to privide her with a living, which will at 67 bring in account of Rs 1800. " new a that form at last he was most morthodox in never adopting Is a new riet irol. I or against charge g or accept to any oterest Aft. his daighter's death, the 200,000ruper copies was to be displicate, talk between her cl. ldn a sales of emales," though if she had no culdren to the work revert of lab's residuan estate to be equally divided among Alighar [sic] University Peshava y aslamic College and the South Madressa of Karman and Falso let 50,000 repres to his oversit of Britishian 25,000 each to Bombay's Anjuman-t-Islam School and the Arabic College of Delhi. "

Or September 3 1339, Local Linbragon broad as: he news of Coripany anymount of Polar I Limitagen net with Cantin for abjust two hours the following day after what the vice saw I ad Sharides, performs at not busing been inclined to the scoregal is a soul as we sent a message ason, I at I gow the nothing with be due a with I comr make him more difficult to deal with 8 x oday are also repeated what he had already sale in public that the lumps or I her gal were who habehave the Covergment in he prosecre in of the war want in I had and his friends might say "" | much regretted Schander's attempt to min a front of los coleagues in the Misin Teag o to plenge comperation" and cautioned for the governant Sa Sakano malor cook nor deliver he goods to Jumah appeal d to the vicer of a something positive to take back to his parts to be,) irrically Musian support for the xir Asker, I be warted Congress ministries thrown out, Januah replied, 'Yes Turn them out at once. Nothing else will bring them to their senses. . . . They will never stard is on ". During this conversation in September 4 1939, noneover Jungah revealed to the viceroy that he now helicyed the only ultimate polifical solution for India "lay in partition"

Gandhi initially assured the viceroy of his "full and unconditional" personal support in the war, speaking "with an English heart," but then explained that he could not control Congress Ner would the Mahama's position be endorsed either by Nehro or the Working Committee Link how road King Georges message to both homes of Delhas legislature on September 11, 1939, explanating that "the companion of the present raters flows.

tion required suspension of all preparations for tederation while returning that idea "as our objective." India's princes had, in fact, proved relictant to commit themse was to federation of any kind, with less than two him raying regressed willinguess to participate in the 935 scheme in wast have given them one-third or disease in the Legislatire's lower and two-titles of disease in the contract their respectation, which is League all he more intransignationard the redictation "und hard had august to yound like list one more "Hindu raj" trap set for the feet and had august to yound like list one more "Hindu raj" trap set for the feet and the redictation of the redictation of the feet and the redictation of the redictation

Nohr was in China when the war started. He returned to join the Cona World ground cocharing is three man was committee that inis to Sanay had and Marca Azar On September II Neuro went to at all significant stress response to the victors decidations. A et lee l'resenten re day was releve, to the press on Septenmy land Wicking Committee v Buselmon on Laha and the War of on a reprint his extinced to a tree usay growal of the ideology and and there's and have an interrupt character took war and violence a pressure of the natural sports. If the war is to defend the a wig the lat passessions clonics vested interests and priviles the analysis and a good of the Landbook wrote Zetland renote a mil a great regulation I wanter have to after It is a tragerly in which a more rasch we shind have a so apportant a their gala and Neitz with his against knowledge of correct I to the many state school The noth know that the me I move prantity" concorning the war was Gandhi, and on September 26 Littl Figory-nyited the Muhatma to see him

"Let off to Sada again," Gandh, wrote Jawaharlal, modestly adding: "I go only to act as interprediary. You will send me instructions if any. I do hope you will be ready to answer invitation, if it comes. Love. Bapa," in a last to a Sada in Sada Sada i

My personal reaction towards this war is one of greater horror than ever before. I was not so disconsonate before as I am today. But the greater horror would prevent one today from becoming the self-appropriate recreiting sergeant that I had become during the last war. And yet strange as it may appear, my sympothics are wholly with the A.Les.—Statessa using that God has endowed me with full a creat which the execution of their vasual, take pride in being called "Latting address" and dels a the totalitations of the world to do then

worst Englishmen will then die unresistingh und go down to history as heroes of many old are I would turther mate Indians to co-operate with Englishmen in this godly manty down. It would be an included and a properties of the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called enemies . . . even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must act in obedience to "the attil email voice." **

To Linlithgow Landhi explained his decision 'to stand aside' from the Working Committee because of his age noting that had he been "ten or fifteen ears younger that a might possible have gone differently " The vicetor haped to convince Gand that assist support his idea if a detence hasson connectee of leading Congress and League politicars as well as it princes to help lashic cofficial policy throughout the was Indeed, Islabingon mated no ten rill at filty two leading Indians to Simila at this time including Jianah what he had hoped would join the object ig with Carella I seals however dodg d the Molar oa, explaining "that he was trock is to crane a fill after ast Cartaber "in The vicetor expressed to Cartal Cartaber "in The vicetor expressed to Cartaber "in The vicetor that he could not disregald to be traite claims to he Muslims and the Princes though he recognized the interness of memory feet is and a upstiles a of the parenes of Congress and it larger (midt replied that Britat, heald fewer Indians to reso, the role at of achieving it is themselves and after targe homes of toole discussion. Guardly "begged" Linkthgow not to consult the Muslim League.

This like, I at the Bi such Concernment will be to play off the Congress against the Model. Leader and the proves Nobel wrote a friend Krahn. Memor at this time to be a later Cardlin and I. Holow Secretary of the Congress for a retireation of their case is Nobel reported by the congress for a retireation of their case is Nobel reported angels on September 24 and once again as temper power, his own worst case in the Congress of the congress of

political posture for Congress throughout the war

On history frame, relied at the viceregal palace, "friend, and compared to the part of the

or cample in the instruction issued a the North-West Frontier Procuse or a justion teaching of Handi. A canwhile Labour seader for Stafford the was argue, awaharla "not to accept anothing short of conclusive act on and to see to it that the Congress stood firm as a rock," in a letter 1 Jetohor 11 1939 57 That same my Nohn told be All Ladia Congress that it convened as Wardha. A stree India cannot help Britain We want to assume control of our government and when we are free we can 1 (1 - mouraines 36 Cautha took Javahad as an also bear and issued I've a very tent from Wardlag is rest a hader, the vicero's in illin contacted trainer of Britains inchanged a quetaes toward I dia states I a say must be The mag state out made in the I retor was these treated by admenticular as I a se it an agrees set it so such to to more can the Lides of Congress. conception be a partner with Britain in her war with Herr Hitler,"30

, a list with gilma ter ou suspects will be extreath for to an in a backing Con later of the tell in the recognitionals. ha at sket r 1 o for "amformes, at of provincial affice 1 1.3 West a too ser 22 am oncorred but combined possibly the support to core to and to for months and out to an empression I see set plan at ab I to agrees has tween song! I to end As a est sider to the en a partie Congress Ministre in a figure of Dut Soler april some agains be east that to as a type of the new southern dreams a west and of land a west of the first or as carate better night drengthen I vinces in the first the ages has designed as a callying greater ful as nesses to prepare once more for revolutionary struggle?

It all I all I storm to the are transite transit to ten with a Normal Land Chey of College of this new house at No. 10 Aurangzel, Road, then "draye to Viceroy's House in Januah's cor." That min it needing continued, without Nohra, at Jinnah's house after Candhi and Frank left the viceroy, but the new round of "communal talks" did not the discountry to receiving who had "the form they met, that "Janua [Mr., Jinnah Saheb [Sir] looks to the British provided and a rate vallegt the Course can be a sancedo well satisfy him."89

On November 5, lankingow reported the "failure" of the talks as Congross previne al collectus resigned, one after another, obliging British govergors to revert to a thoroughly autocratic ordinance ral, "Anonymous plucards" passed through the country-side "asking people to out wires and tear in cade," Gustellit reported to Nebru, "My own opinion is that there is at present no atmosphere for cival disobedience. If people take the law into their own hands I must give up command of civil disobrdience provement To Krishna Menon in London, Jawaharlal wrote the next day "Our position is one of nonecoperation but have not as yet thought of anything more "4 Then Gandhi appealed to Jinnah through as Hargan jour nal, taking a much more conciliatory tone. "British refusal to make the required declaration of British was almost india has perhaps come as a heasing in disguise at reaso as the Congress out at his way o enable the Musam Legac to rank its come infettered by the Congress dimaistration in eight Provinces. Assa a Bihar Born as CP Madras Orissa . P. and \ W I's as 6) whether I will fight for the ind pendence of an un divided India. I hope that the Luaga, does not want to viscot fad a

Present the talks between Jana (Jama Scho) and Panad J vanarial Nobry well be resomed. Let us hips that they well result at producing a

basis for a lasting solution of the communal tangle."164

But Jamel had long some divided at a non a separate and equal na honder Meshir Judia Only to process on the forest water up as a citient remained to be resolved. Creat regular rather he was, he knew how important Linning could be for political as well a egal advastage Unlike Jawaharlal 1: never acted in topulse II are any ic was more coldbrooded than I whitegow and Zethand, and more precia. It must have given han great satisfaction a ter of to have the volcros. Garidle and Cougrass president Prasad corn to his sitting bom and dive it his Packard Fight to the vicere all, made I remail to slamming of the door so all negot at one weald have to led has of the crowning Jobyl of pour alignmental and If would have been too easy to some set flatly for Pasts an moreover sho rough a de and for 100ftops as Bahmat What dop in England for the past six are it level As who first subso zed the FAKISTAN Jemana was left a lonch man to the an ingland, with his re mins a ways under Copengal son. S. Exight easily case being Japon Labour well out for his or if o capito is to make the most or every post on option and opportunity At the tree that they every below Jureaus a and focused on Is an and the Coron at the end of the Middle north of fasting which feel on November 13 in 1939 he was given vierzegal permission to broadcast tes first In fastia message, addressing himself particularly to "the young . . . for it is the who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations "64 Though clearly conscious of how frail his body had become, he was equally between their materials of and and all all were help ked find the beginnes and distance a recompression in this talk, for as he himself had learned from what Morley wrote, "It is worth while to take pa us to find out the best was of doing a given task. 'to scorn delights and live laborious days' in order to make as sure as we can of having the best opinion."**

. . the Congress Ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests antly and fairly, by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy.

, the Congress M vistry [sic] both in the discharge of their duties of the adm instruction and in the legislatures have done their best to flow the Missim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their economic and political rights, that in matters of differences and disputes the Congress invariably have sided with, supported and Juniced the cut of the Hindus in total disregard and to the prejudect of the Miss is interests.

The Congress Governments constantly interfered with the legitimate and countric that as of district officers even in party matters to the serious cuts ment of the Musulmans, and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the builded amongst the Hindin public that there were estimabled a Hindin rad, and emboldened the flindus, mostly the hinding spread of the serious serio

Gat this felt or soon as he read this that any prospect of resolving the anti-Mislan problem by further talks was over ²⁰ Nohru, forming to be few inputation, wrote Jionah next day "c. . . which has oppressed mo terribly stone yesleyday at the realocation that our sense of values and objectives in timeau, pich sex I fformed very great y. I had hopen, after our conversations,

that this was not so great but now the gual appears to be wider than ever "follows a greed it was "not possible to carry on also regarding be Hindu-Musion seatlement—till we reach an agreement with regard to the intensity profession. High were negotiator that he was nowever he never just be temperate balance and was never to discard the last life has or possible future contact. I can only say that if you desire to discard to a native turther I am at your disposal."

The Congress press now disbled Januah "Dictator of Malabar Hills," "Passed on Janual's own nost trusted beat mands including that seven year-old Ispahani, received a "rude shock" upon reading the resolution.

I did not expect such a command from you, because you have all along kept politics on a very high and strong pediesal. . . . I, however he that some strong reason must have di ver you to assue your command for the observance or that day. He me know what pro-piled you to take the step. . . . The progressive elements in the League who tells we do not hand to the infarth a days tool as Mish as a ind a firl or their times, regret and disappe or not that you are grational of rifting nor and more than the arms of react marines are the horzoots. I lyou ment. Those whom we despised, not many years ago, seem to have hind runs the frint ark of sour support re and distarts. As a result the League spot or in general is being based on hit Sie not fire it in that you take stock of the whole situation and purdown your toot with firm respirators.

Sixteen Muslim Lague members of liengal's Legislata. Assembly, moreover featured the lead of Abdul Rai man Siddle, in openly breaking with their quad mer what they considered an impair a shock to Indian unity.

Journ's decreed to issue clong estat are to the press a few da s later, since the gerty do not adort here guite ad public re-more to sant of the retracts. Mushin prevances against Congress in a strict from the start of their house referring to the Pirare and other League reports. He also reprinted the "direct action" resolution as paid at the Falta League session. As soon as the Congress manistrics resigned Jinnah "it mediated decided to uppead for the observance of a day to express our renef and to show its internation of the congress of the start of the sant of the sant day to express our renef and to above its internation." (What a descriptive way for one whose voice and lungs were fast an age hinder of the later of the fast of the sant day in the result has also descriptive way for one whose voice and lungs were fast an age hinder of the closed and Muslim workers would either stay here a the off the mesque for committed prayers.

Jinuah won strong support from South India's "Dravidistar" Justice party fender, Perkest E. V. Bannaward Netcker , 1880-1974) for his Day of DraBecomber 22 on a grand scale . to sid the country of the menace of the fact in the sale of the sale of

Sir Stufford Cripps was in India at this time, having come to test the a all to a hot's plan to make Brita his cabinet into proclamina, its in all selligiess o grad for non-states to nell, and to exacedr but a transfer some onstituent as not conedately (when) I would be or before that the Engport and weren " topps rehas been to Nel and Cancel at 1 soon three differs were other and a second of the latter of the second of re extline and the passed to discover to the extremely was not the correct procedure antil you had kicked out Great Britain," a go a to "In prover and me to be localed first" Before was to line to pissish and an flowing trace a treet a property resolving to If no A plane a help a leger has be got at the right memorial rate in the grapher and the second the dress of the second second real at next, and all a weather after wen prepared to real and greamont."77 That was the arbitrator's technique of conflict resolution Cripps would advise Mountbotten to try effectively, after the war.

Or pps returned home, proposing to Zolland an immediate declaration to the world pps in the nonal readers to the view of section 1. The condition was an another a consistent assembly that we fell take to seek on the principle of a simple regionty. This condition was an anotherma to limina, who insisted that a two-thirds inajority be mandatory for any "commend insiste". Congress though, would not bear of such abandonment of sock hofore the Orient Club, announcing that "full Dominion Status, of the Statute of Westminster variety" was tho goal of this Minjert view entire which and they were prepared immediately to add "a similinar nor" at Indian political seaders to the excentive connect, to reopen the entire scheme of the Act of 1935 "as soon as practicable "" It was the fruit in Congress that it is a larger of the Act of 1935 and another some conjugation I lad Lington over the perits of Indian warting non-cooperation I lad Lington.

lithgow made such a speech the previous October, Congress might reverhave withdrawn from provincial administrations and there would have been no Day of Deliverance.

Junah seemed mcreasingly preoccupied from this time till his death with questions of disease and its diagnosis, and thus at was wont to put other ills in terms of "disease". The coast atoms mala has from which India at present suffers may best be described as a military of a disease atherent in the body politic," he wrote for London's Time and Tide of January 19 1040 "Without diagnosing the disease, to understanding of the symptoms is possible and re-re-arch can suggest itself. Let us, therefore, firs diagnose the disease then consider the symptoms and finally are ve at the romedy " Such was Jounah's thinking as he braced named, for the fina stretch across the high ware balanced precureus year of always of his own mortality. For its March, As we traveled from Boothas to New De ht? Fatima recalled, "he had a sligh temperature Afte, dinner as he you may porth, suddenly he gasped with pain and mounted louir enough for nic to hear a joye the noise of the rattling trun. I sat up and went a sight Ho was in such pain that he could not smak the printed with his larger to a spot in the andele of his nack to the right of the spinal cord. It is trice was contaited with pain and since we were at a varye, while train could not rush out for medical aid. I first massaged he shot which he had not cared but my ministration seemed to do lab lift, good. The train steamed into Della station in the early coers of the morning in a 800 i we were at 10 Autaugzeh Road I phoned any doctor whose diagnosis was that it is brother had ple trisy and that he is stock in one is nahous a fort eight As soon as the Joefor seit, in brether sold. What had lock It's an important session M. participation is essential. And here a a confined to bed. Two restless days rater he was of and at work 4. He went to meet Limithgow on March 13 and the used the occasion to assure the Viceroy that the Mus was would not return the war effort I am andertaking was given to them that no positioal settlement wor dive reached with the Congress within a the pressous consent of the Mushin's. The Vicerov acted tayourab v and said he would common case his views to London "

Januah had little nore than a week to recover his strength from the strain at meeting with the steeres to the start of his journey to Lahore, it self wracked is some at flaces on the cwo of the Leagues most momentous rating the March 19, 1946, back both rainful in Lahore and the metit of these did not used absences it kinks as nothing their hophical feet. Shar Age, A. in these most results are not less that here is an extension of the Senior Superintendent of Police, Mr. D. Galanford, who had his now shopped off in the

at, at. Man Mohammad Shafi, jumor reporter at the time, recalled not my the the ensuing arrive temporary a converted the gas care of Lahore in a new gravity are "Param bare Mashim Khalwars were as hostile toward by Musam League as they were unti-Hindu and anti-fakh.

As Khaksar unrest continued to plague Labore toward the eve of the solved for it of 5 h Susander phoned Jonal in New Delh to ask if the season while not treat in postponed to another suitable date? Quaddid a season was an emphate no out be did matried the premier of the limitab to "abandon" all "arrangements for taking me out in a procession... out of respect to the memory of the Khaksar martyra. On the notion of Maria 122, 940, Jr. and general was station to in Maro Hospital where he "visited in a general ward each one of the wounded by mere self-increased mantan, but This had a southing effect on the length of Labore. As a whole however the Khaksars see ever in each for J mahs endership and tried more than once an innext few years to assassinate him.

When the still Missers of thereofens do the gigantic tent erected as Missers Alexander of Park within view of the lofts manufer omitaries in line and both to be both the Missers Alexander to the line and the still be alien to the line and the still be and the still be alien to the line and the line and

Deaft may shouts of "Zindabad" werecomed Jimah as he rose to walk to the incrophone. He started speaking in Urdu as the reception committee sharman, the animal of Maindot, who introduced him had done, but soon in the 1 started to the acts to do not so gestered toward the press comes "The world is watching us, so fet me have your permission to have my say in flaglish." At that point there were some numerical of angry pre-cent, but Ji mah "stood calmly, and while the crowd settled into a lence, he lit a signorate and looked over them with his compelling eye," one witness recalled. "Fir at then, they hatened and the not ultima word." "He apose for many two hours," the "Times of India reported, "his voice now deep and treasumit, now light and rone Such was the dominance of

his personality that, despite the improbability of more than a fraction of his audience understanding English, he held his hearers and played with palpable effect on their emotions. The largest audience, his greatest performance to date. Muslim Ludia's foremost eaders were there, and the overflow crowd filled the park outside, with close to 100,000 Punjabis, Sindhis Bengalis, Pathans, and Baluchis gathered to hear their Quandi-Azam's voice. He must have seemed no less than a Mug-all emperor resurrected. Thanks to Associated Press International, Reuters and CPI. Jimanh's message at Labore was called that evening the world over and especially perused with tea that same day in London's Atheneum, studied and underlined at Whitehall and Downing Street discussed in the City, and debated in Westminster.

The last session of the All-India Musian League took place at Poina in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place,

Now, what is our position with regard to the future Constitution? It is that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the lat st, the whole promein of Indous a ture Constitution must be examined de nevo. and the Act of 1935 must go once for all We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. **

Januah then reflected on the most recent sess on of Gongress, which had been meeting for the past week in central lindu's Rangarh under its newly elected Mission president. Maulanu Azad and which Gurdhi uttended "And this now is what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says. To me. [Lindus Muslima, Paisis, Harajans are all alike. I cannot be frivolous but I think he is frivolous. I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Januah. He is inv. brother. "The only difference is this. Last brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote" commented Jimah accritically, as he continued quoting from Gandhi's speech. "I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket. I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his. I junish remarked withing write. Then speaking to Gandhi, Jimah added. "Why not come as a Hindu leader proudsy representing your people and le, me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans?" This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned. "**

Junual felt completely secure of course in suggesting this formula for fresolving the problems knowing not only that Congress had put its leading the metal to have of the party but wear but also that an axadi (free) Muslim conference was to be held the next month in Dolla, to which at his leading Muslim the party of the discount inconserves from Muslim League Moultes and to amount the general Congress domain in as

Note explained to Krishna Menon, while insisting. "This is not being orgon on your following such hough Congress Muslims will take a limit, it "as hather than growing more receptive to admitting. Hindu" in a linear such as thus become more determined that ever to prove its ambient velocity national character and assist remain sooms sting that religious bias played no role in its deliberations, policies, or programs.

Jimah and his party were no longer willing to retain more "minority" to some cup tal of the Pro ab had been chosen purposely as the place

to atmostice the Muslim League's newborn resolve.

I has always been taken for granted and akenly that the Musalmans are a minority, and of course we have got used to it for such a long line that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition

Lat proceed to India is not of an inter-communa but maintestly of a 1 - 1 - 1 to a track to not or must be treated at a reb. So long as its asset at 1 damental trath is not real red, any constitution. If at may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and natificial not only to the Musalmans, but also to the British and II to 5 I he British Cooker not are reads. I cannot and sheare a 1 the processor of the proper of the Sul or diment his only centres open to us all it to allow the major nations separate translands, by dividing India into "autonomous national States."

I collect use the mar. Pakster nor would cappear in the forthcoming the residue. He had negletions observe given much theight not solds a last an last solution for the Hards Mashing problem out and the amount of reations of partition. Jordan no in the state has been added in the state of the solution of the state of

and senting where the final curtain or any prospects for a rigge of doct final pendent India. Those who understood him enough to know that once his mind was made up he nover reverted to any earlier post flor realized how indirections a pronouncement their Quind-t-Azun bad flat made. The rest of the world would take at least seven years to appreciate that he herally meant every work he had attend that important after moon in March. There was no terraing back. The ambussador of Hindu-Minar made the model of the party flight, then his acchoost batton, and then his British allow to agree to the foreign of his his dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first of the list of the foreign of the his dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first of the list of the first of the his dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first of the foreign of the hist dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first of the foreign of the hist dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first of the foreign of the hist dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first of the foreign of the history of the history of the hist dichoot dipon has for Cambridge and the first dichoot dipon has discounted the history of the history

dhi, Nehru Aza l and the rest, thes were advocates of a neighbor state and would be dealt with according to classic canons of dynomics. The lowed went wild with acclaimation as he stepped from the interophone and returned to his throne. These host from the panda. He had crossed the high were without faring. His hand translets as he list a fresh organite, but his langs had had and his voice had remained and he is that been truly a stell a performance worthy or the lead vole he afone cours command in this company.

Lahore to Delhi (1940-42)

I I same las stan resolution was bammered into final form at Lahore and Ona Aza a forward speaking. The League's Subjects Committee not o any low r their craft through the early holles of Saturday March 3 rel t was not an I late afternoon that man mits was reached Six as what find the concept of partition many portable till the butter end for was I mer represented a los La onast party's basic platform of the du-Mean 5.k. convicence, and of his potential to win personal readership the Lange. After hearing how enthusinstical's [nash a speech was in d, how you bikander must have known that his days of aspiring to a are ten are at the Maxims of India were numbered. Ever in the he is if is home province that merging an anges crowd of voting Mits inand at this princher round the hands, while the Subjects Committee on on small g "5 kunder Muramagel" "Death to Sikinder" Hearing to the pupil case of meeters this own rame in Labore must have go to represe Westel touch operated, however the young men charged their cry to "Quard-i-Azam Zindabad!" Whoever had trained and orchestrained that chorus had done an effective job.

Jimuil, presided over the second days session of the Lahore League Parlul Hac, who chaired the Subjects Committee, moved the first resolution, the most famous third paragraph of which stated

Dut this the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim. I hape that no constitutional plan would be workable as this country or acceptance to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following more principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are designed into regions which should be no constituted, with such territorial road-instituted, as to be no constituted, with such territorial road-instituted as right be necessary, that the areas in which

the Muslims are manerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States its which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.¹

Pakstan was not exploit mentioned, nor was a clear from the language of the resolution whether a single Mestir state or both "zones had been envisioned or two separate "author mous independent states on both the Northals the other in the Las etc. Banglades! Zone Sher Bengal ("Lion of Bengal" Fazhi Hajar wast appears to have but the latter in minus when he drafted the resolution and read it of our Both Jamal was the leader, and when asked by reporters to this resolution meant one or more than our Mustim nation his inequalities, and the fate of Bengal's Mist by majority. India's newspaper headlines next day are nonneed the Labore resolution, a single "Farestian Resolution" and so i remained.

Sikander as dout for some form at tederal agreems. I government to unite the "sovereign constituent saids" and massive of his death at December 1942 that the Ladoce resolution was only a "unificating out? for the League For Socialde Indeed Usigs but not for Jonal Peoplah governor Sort Hears Chark reported the resolution to Link throw as a very efficiency reporter of On gress as a temperator of the Congress claim to speak for Linka."

A few days rater (and a way asked. "Do you attend to start genoral civil disolacherics as hough Quinder Aram I much has declared were grants that day and has got to Mislor League I much is as a resolution featurable word. What Lectures of our furrice a that there is no swars, without command must." To this he relies. "Laborst that the step taken by the Mislor League at Laborst creates a baffling start in But I do not regard it so baffling as to rake disobedience an impossibility. The Massons must have the same right of so federal intoto that the rest of India has We are at present a joint family. Any morbite may claim a division."

Other leaders it Congress reacted more strongly. "I consider it a sign of a diseased mentality that Mr. Jimah his mough, annuel to rook upon the along of one for a six or seonception and the cause of most of our truther, angued (1 sum art. Rajago salactian. C.R. 1970-1972) of Madries, who was telegraph for all than governor govern! Nehro, wrote of the resolution as "Jimah's 1 material may be noticed in a cast's paw of British imperial must be hissed on independence, democracy and national unity," repudiating "attempts to divide India or to spat up her nationhood."

Linquist Ali Khan convened the third days proceedings of the Lahore Lengue shortly before noon, smoonleing that 'the Quaids-Azam would ar-

no a little late" [innah, though exhausted, managed to muster strength in the appear inside the pancial shorth after the meeting commenced. He was in the chair, in fact, when Dr. Mohammad Alam, a recent convert. in he are ster having oft Congress, seconded the resolution moved the divisefore. The resolution carried by accamagned Another resolution asserting the League's "grave concern" at British "mordinate delay . . . in com ag to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine," also carried that final its in essentition adjourned and was reconvened by Jumsh at 9:00 r M. a or a lad masseveral hours rest file personalis moved a resolution on his a of Ir Khaksars, 1grig the Punjal government to remove the unlawand puseu is that althout Mast in organization and called for an The arm there of inquired to investigate the tragic clash be-A 43 Khaisars and the Police of Mareti 19 Januah ergod every one to as a weedlenge" to such an augusts committee once it was ap-" " It rest we will see ad Cod wit help us," an winding of he as in the taight apab called it a landmark of the tas one of lo to be one; of the The more to organize you sell the more you no a a t get voner guts he session curled, ast sefere as diagle with at s. d. C. Azar / ntabad?" The next day before leaving Labore. and that remort exchange thoroughly converge any stay on Labore by or use of the result otherwise I was worked to death."

I de gow weste, e me in Ar I, ressering him that The Marsh, still a rathere i reind, and se epathshe in and even the li Meshin Peaces of one of whom endeed they are of our distributed by all ance. We made to it is examined as factor Half a month before it agency by soung fedam. Sink a No most serie of the Half a month before it agency by soung fedam. Sink a No most serie of the All should be the end of the transfer of the tran

At this juncture, Sikunder tried his best to negotiate a federal scheme without a six Gongress in any te short-creat a and and warking six darb ligowise tacit support. The vicetoy sought a further round of discussion for a Could as [and and] and was not a consumer of the arguments and wasted in any event till be had a change to meet with Locking to the action of the arguments and wasted in any event till be had a change to meet with Locking to a consumer to the consumer of the consumer triangle Country of the consumer of the consumer

Herr Hiller to be as bad as he is portrayed. He might even have been a friendly power as he may still be "1. The vicercy did not, however, accept that offer.

Jimush called his Working Committee to Bombay in rold Jime, and after a story a three day meeting at which sakauder if it has best to wrist leader shop of the League for Innself the resolved first of all its endorse the Quard's Azam's position as winced in the Min remainding he British that "I p to the present amoment we have not created any a flicially our have we embare used the British Covernment in the prosecution of the wor". The I eague sit of command they locked "with alarm at the growing menace of hard aggression which has been most rightlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and reedom and regards the topp twiker a lack by the It han foreitment against the A lies as most unwarranted and amount at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggly against very heavy rolks."

Junuary visited the vice-regal palace at Simia on June 27, 1940, conterring at engil was landstheave Attenwards he wrote a me on reaffering but the Lalsone Pakistan' reso then had become "the u as rise to their Med m In that and that the viceros had promised him "that at interin or final scheme of new constitution would be adopted by the British Governian without the previous approval of Muslim Lidia."14 They had also agreed that " yearthing should be done that is possible in it hads was efforts and mobilists all the resources of India for her defence for the pursose of hair taining interms see up, prace and tranquists and to ware off attern aggression." finnah asisted that this can orly ac achieved provided the details soverment are reach and writing to associate the Musian cadership as regular par ners in the Government both at the Controlland in all the provinces." Specificall he recommended that for the duration of the war he Executive Corner of the Vector by expanded to include at least as many Muslan members as Hindus "if the Congress comes in" otherwise Muslims, all to be chosen by the League were to have the majority of additional council nembership

In most 1940, with Britain braced against German avasion and its populate despitate so kin, to survive an moless nonsoon of bonds. Jinpah wisch land but if the was not upo to a power struggle "show down" with the Betsh (anoth at these in published an "open letter" to "every Betsh in trung cresation of nost likes.

So car at 1 as a r st ca we the adserverest sheapfter that is going on minute by onlines. If do not want Britain to be to deep the state of better the attempth. It want you to light Naziam without arms. If

would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hatler and Signor Mussolim, to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your tuany beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them. . . . I am telling this Excellency the Viceroy that my services are at the disposed of a Mussiy & Covernment should they cansider them of any practical use in advancing the object of my appeal. If

I my many mid not however use the Manatran's "services" in this regard to it is used in the low floath's allowed by ax sanding his executive connection take the more effective weapon of war.

I all of word has Working Committee in Bombas early that beptem " The or at ce reoffenced the league's Lakotan commit and noted will a list at the viceron's dear assurance that no figure Constitution, it is a feel on the ade stee by the sertish Covernment without the Mad lang a a providend consent in It did not, anyover accept the v are well permanage in any hership of the taxes that Council resolving not better to recine and thomas to reconsider his proposal, and and one fine a "sink teather of const in and carefication. Sikander is a contrain his one of the colleagues to accept the vicer is A list dies tore ter git is the law from the I rag ic different provisted is a law flam lowerer a source move to though trop an on e and Samilor I , of opit the League Armen with his Working control on the street they agree that a prior condition to the Long and a ser tool is expended the days owner or war adas commer and a respect to the fire respect any other parts (Longress deciding later on to be associated . . it should be allowed to is so ea for at the proper Fund consentes to U the Mishman Tenta a day an elera , al esta ting distance obstructive to the war affort and fest that Jinnah wanted to become "in effect . . . a Steen given as had a demonstrate of othering Companies at one herst seated a nector of passion Carally has to resolve was whether it should be a symbolic individual or the property of the individual variety toward which he was predisposed was, of course, smiler to control and keep nanylelent. On the eve of his sev-1) the extense the Manne of the latest and the second of other expansion of the sound of the sound strong the

was launched in mid-Octuber. Gandlu selected his saintly ashram disciple, Vinoba Bhave, to court arrest first by openly speaking out against the war effort. Vinoba was arrested on October-17 and sentenced to three months in at. Government ordered an newspapers to stop publishing statements against the war effort. Gandlu "prottessed" by suspending publishing statements against the war effort. Gandlu "prottessed" by suspending publishing statements against the war effort. Gandlu "prottessed" by suspending publishing of his Hersport journa. The Mahatma next considered the "possibility of a fast, protonged or unto death, and whote to warm the vicerca, of that possibility, while 'waiting on God to find what is to be the case." He is not red to appeal directly to Hitler to stop the war, but the letter be wrote was never per stated to leave India. Nebro argued vigore say against a fast, missing it was "nopportate" and offering to court of bringed. He was arrested on October 30 and utied to breaking, British matual law early in November Jawahrial was found guilty as charged and set enced to four years of rignors anjousoament, most of Espert in his old sold at Denra Jun.

I must took passes at this time to remaind the Rrit short how lova. Musters had been and how worth of partitiviship He has either at trieffed attack upon "enemies" within the government of india my tant Hindrs and Mustins at Congress Ancong the former he included it all theory aimse fit to whose fix the was overheard saving. "You have doubte crossed he "." By their Jinnab considered the society, "woode i and ante-d-hoving and had and ited that I wildingow and had either to territe at Simila merels, "want mit support or the assurance hat we shall he is not seed as loval servinits and the war and we even he given a hakhsheeish!" "Hine i outlers of the Mahasabha wanted to treat." Muslims Jinna'i angied, "Ike Jews it German. As for Congress Muslims Jaman ented the mere "show-hova".

Farh as Februa 1941 Shab Nawaz Khan pr pared a conficient al memorandon for Indian on "What is a kistan in de nographic analysis of each province is the Northwestern and North astern Muslim zones of British India, and some strategic advice short "the I dam states. From this date at least it are at the Januah knew it would be "tweesary to readjust" the Punjah's "territ ma boundar's and Shall Nawaz suggested excluding Amba , I cis on which was no unit most a Handu and Sikh in popula ion, but also a fiscal mility and not an asset 22 In the Northeast, moreover Japan was acried to he t I many harsh resides the Masain population of Assail was or a 31 8 septemble that provinces total population, while the D dwar vision of Berg 1 was "overalt migh Hard." and the overall Middle resents of to the I totalist a service 54 8 rescent Shab Nowaz y by ende als B was Dys at from Taks ans" Eastern will take it at fully a Assaultion, otherest of by did now that and had an award the propet to list the entire on North ships I so a new So recomto did a "third federation" of Indian states, since most princes, like Mustic sowers "anxious to maintain their integrets and sovereign rights." As for I offer in I nowever, he fet it was large indipopulous endigh to merit i by independent status with "direct political relations with the Crown is Negra." I min was to rely heavily on this momo in the years of strengths. A negotiation ahead.

The arm of vession of the League was scheduled to start on April 12, and a Midrass Peoplex Park, where an estimated 20,000 Muslims gathers to the pands, to capacity long to their Quards Azam reached the straing scene. When circlam was a textheory from Madras the got are the hollagood, "Forms recalled", dashed to his side, kneeling on he floor, and saked Jin, what is wrong?"

He silled a worr on shafter is suddenly felt very weak exhausted to p+1 , and on r , so whiter sows atted howelt in distangence to his berth, it the train came to a halt in ond thousands of earth shastle admirers were on the platform, shouting, "Quaid-e-Aram / most I pension to due to an compactment sightly and pleudad, "Don't shout. The Quaid is resting, he has a fever and is fait good. Please jet a doctor".

We are non-consistent vectors and new and such "Sir you have and a nervo a breakdown, nothing serious, but 1 would advise y^{m_0} not to move about for at least a week. Please stay in bod."

We were soon in Madras. . . . The Quaid was no weak to address he open as session, but on the following day he insisted that he would deliver his prosidential address. I advised him against it, but take it he we add in 1 I agg d from to make short speech. Alright, I shall try to be brief, "he said the had no notes. . once he liegan, he went on speaking for over two hours."

"Ladies and gentlemen, in the first place left me thank you and those and a rade required about a stade, south a 1 have received so many and all 14 this not possible for explosion before personally.

But I hope you will accept my heartfelt thanks a 2.28 Behind to a tree ig law enters a great a stand based by its Min in the ig law enters a great a stand based by its Min in the internal fastice party. E. V. Ba maximum Malcker, the Periyor ("Great Sage" of the "Dravidatina" movement and other Tamilland luminaries inclining Jonah's and friend Sir A. P. Putro. "Since the fall of the Minghat barptre, I think I san right in anying that Muchin India was never so well originated and so alive and see politically conscious as it is to-the," James I, it are and at all a marks a most of the sign of the minghat I it are and at all a marks a most of the sign of

as he spoke bracing himself with the other hony-fingered arm on the speaker's stand det in ned not to smoke or to fall. "We have established a flag of our own, a national flag of Mushm India. We have established a remarkable platform which displays and demonstrates a complete unity of the enbre solid hody of Musam india." He spoke excempore in a fauthess subdued Finghal accent and his tace, though rather skeleta, was brightened by the luminosity of his eyes.

We have defined in the clearest language our goal about which Muslim India was graping in the dark, and the goal is Pakistan

That is our five-year plan of the past. We have succeeded in raising the prestage and reputation of the largue not only throughout this country-we have now reached the farthest corners of the world, and we are watened to laglou act world bow what next. No people can ever succeed in anything that they desire unless they work for it and work hard for it. . . What is required now is that you should the k- and I say this part. In the large of the All It day Mod in League who have gathered are true all parts of India-we must now think and it is so, in any ground of a five-year plan and part of the fix and part of the departments of the national lafe or Must in ladden may be built up. **

He needed and wanted more brains, in he bodies, plottons and brigates in section of tear is tollowers to carrier, angulated that his or desired in sections was thanking and faiting limits was clearly eiting the suan of speaking in the stiffer. I and overheated pandal but instead a justificial to get his teeth and origid alread, drawing energy of section of tem for crowers at entire and page by either stone for the fewer had been thought to the first order to make the word not abundled to produce or typical being out to the word not abundled to produce or the best was buggeand receptive a vasidance.

He meandered over the political history of India since the war had started, returning again and again to his favorite subject,

what the Congress wants. The Congress has taken up a position about vd., in a slow see no doubt I stould ike to ask any man with a grain of sense, Do you really think that Gandhi, the supreme leader, commander and general of the Congress, has started this Salyagraha merely for the purpose of getting liberty of speech? Don't you really feel that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion and blackmalling the licitish, who are in a tight corner, to surrender and conceede the Congress deviateds.

Then Jimub concluded his Madras address with a

real warning to the British Government because after all they are in passession of this land and the Government of this Subcontinent Please stop your paice of appeasement towards those who are bent upon frustrating your war efforts and doing their best to appose the prosecution of the war and the defence of India at this critical moment.

... You are not loyal to those who are willing to stand by you and smeetly desire to a pport you, you do not be procate those who have the greatest massare wake in the political and economic fields.

If the Government want the whole hearted co-operation of Muslim India, they must place their cards on the table.²⁷

I we great enthusins of that large gathering had served as a tonic." Fatima much diered, but only I know that weakness, exhause on and fever would I alow.

the ug purer are a higher altitudes for his tabercular langs. Janah 19 to 10 Acad. If Is a blyson State and Corocan rist to try to response for the state what response to the temporal state of the state would only be temporal. It is also to the high state which response all bit has a first state of any law are set of the high state of the state of any law and the state of the high state of the state of the high state of the state

It is extra maning with the approval of H. Magesty's Government, a National Defence Council. This Council will consist of some 10 members, nine of whom will be drawn from Indian States. The Vicerty requires it as essential that the Great Muslim community is in h. h. oper some of the approximation of the highest point notice and capacity. He has accordingly invited the Premier of Amain, Hengal, the Punjah and Sind to serve as members of it. It has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions has to possible personnel for this Council, but being the council of the proposed personnel for this Council, but being the council of the proposed personnel for the Council, but being the council of the proposed personnel for the Council, but being the council of the proposed personnel for the proposed personnel for the proposed personnel for the council of the proposed personnel for the personnel for the proposed personnel for the personnel for the

Mush was not embarrassed, be was inferred. He read the vicerov's involutions to Str Stander Fazhi. Had and the Len aprender of Assum, Sir Michani and Sandolfab, as a direct challeng to his authority ned power over each of their as prendent of the Min. Construction of the had a maked parameter to the viceros for Pin.



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Branub e -410



Ruttic jornals around the time of her marriage $\epsilon = 19.8$



Lie e and ro the choruatop Malaos, Hill of Booksey e, 1920.



Januah c 1927



of the state of th



Jinnah and Fatuna Hampstead, c. 1932



Jimnah ("Quard-t-Azam",, c. 1939



Addressing the Muslim League in Delhi, 1943



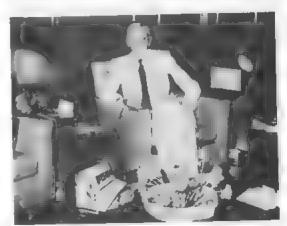
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John San Day (San Communication of the way his a ratio and remark)



At home at New Deth 24 at 46





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Propaging to address Imaga on the eye of Pakistan, 1947



er a "na stan Amach, 1947"



All photographs courtesy of the Government of Politican Nutsonal Archives, Islamabart

to deal with then Jinnah. That August Brook ealled his Work og Committee to Bombay to deal with this challenge from Simba Sir S kander. Faziol Hua ad Saaduliah tried in van 1 -a que that they had joined the viceroy's deferce council as pravincial premiers, rather than as representatives of Musfor oper or Jinnah gave them no option but to quit the council or leave the Langue Shander after the private talk with Jorean, agreed to antice by the decision of the committee. Sikander's capitulation was followed in-I we ately by his resignation and that of Sir Saadullah from the viceroy's dehave so not Fizial day, however proved less mable and though be or sed to resign from the viceroy's council, he was most dilatory about doing (But lik il I resign from both the National Defence Coursel and the Working Committee if he League. As a mark of motest against the arts tract are of powers verted a ds President, voteing the strongest opposiion to Januah's leadership and articulate, what may in retrospect to viewed as a cascent. Bangladeshi" position ignost Wes. Pay state dominance. The Muslim presider of Bengal argued that "recent events have forcthe brought home to the that the principles of democracy and autonomic the Al India M slim League are being woord miled to the university of sliof a single individual who seeks to rule as an ommipotent authority even over the destany of 33 millions of Muslims in the province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics."*

Begun Shah Nawar and Sir Salta i Ahmed, andske Sir Sikander, Fazana Haq, and Assum's Suadulial refused to resign (m. the vicerous panel) and were therefore expelled from the M a mm Langue for the years. For the begain it was a part court, buter pil, to swallow once of any occuso close to Janual during the Round Table conferences in Landon Sine was later to recent and we mad return to the Lengue's to 1 or Units after the hell decade of ostrac son "The Covernment in the beetloof our opposition tried to a anocurer and wear some of our members by assisting them with this scheme." Jimnah remarked during his Id Dav. nessage that October

Three of them were provincial Premiers of whom two were members of the Working Committee We on know what Lappened I am glad, and we have reason to be proud that the British Government have been taught a lesson. Out of evil cometh good! Mus in India from one end to another demonstrated that it was solidly behind the Mushin League I hope in fusine our opponents will learn that it is fastile to attempt to create disruptions in our ranks. That chapter is now closed.33

lunah withdrew the League's elected members from the Central Legislature at this time more forcefully to impress upon the vicercy his Jissatisfac-



sun ava soste. Pan stan a Karach 1947



e is an other connergal flood's coffin. Date

to deal with it an Jimesh. That August Jonnik caused his Worker g Committee to Bombay to deal with this challenge from Sinila Sir & kander Fazini Haq, and Saadullah tried in vam to argue that they had joined the victory's defence council as provincial premiers, rather than as representatives of Muslim opinion. Jinnah gave them no option but to op it the cour ad in a are the League Sikander after a long private talk with Jimooh agreed to acide by the decision of the committee. Sika ders capeulation was followed inmediately by his resignation and that at Sir Saadulian from the viceroy's defence council Fazl il Haq, however provid sess mable and though he promised to resign from the viceros's countil he was most dilitory a unit doing. But he did resign from both the National Detence Council and the Working Committee of the League, "As a mark of protest against the arbitrans use of powers a sted in its President voting the stronges opposition to linnah's leadership and articulating what may in retrospect be viewed as a nascent "Bangladeshi" position against West Pakistani dono name. The Must in premor of Bengal argues that received a have force ably brought home to me that the principle is a countrily in a come is in the All India Musius League are being subordiented to the whole ry wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority even over the destroy of 33 m hous of Miscons at the movince of Beogle, who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics "36

Begum Shah Nawaz and Sir Sultan Ahmed, unlike Sir Sikundor, Fazhi Haq, and Assam's Shadullah, refused to resign from the viceroy's council and were therefore expelled from the Muslim League for five years For the legium it was a particularly hitter participant, a since sor 1-1 seen so close to Jimaah during the Bound Table conferences in London. She was later to relent and would return to the League's fold but sidy after her half decade of ostraciam. The Government in the teeth of our opposition tried to manoceuvre and wear some of our members by associating them with the scheme." Juniah remarked during his Id Day message that October

Three of them were provincial Premiers of whom two were members of the Working Committee, Well, you know what happened I am glad, and we have reason to be proud that the British Government have been taught a lesson. Out of evil concern good! Muslim India from one end to another demonstrated that it was souldly behind the Muslim League! I hope in future our opportents wil. learn that it is fintle to attempt to create disruptions in our ranks. That chapter is now word?

Journal withdrew the Leagues electric or or are from the Central Legislature at this time more forcefully to topress upon the victor of a dissalish. the with he government's behavior and he called for a "clear" declaration of Betash policy toward at Muslim countries, demanding that Great Britain affire its non-intervention policy with regard to inversal Muslim "sover-cuts, and independence." He appointed Ispatiam to Fazial Haq's seat on the Working Committee.

I par's scarting victories in the wake of Pear, Harboy now raised the scart for the scarce of Lidal from the first Since expanding his excess in remner. Limitingow had been pressed from the first since expanding his excess remners that the souther key Congress leaders from his non-officed advisers. The victors was eager his with new members that their could, a fact "get hongs done." But the mission was researched ageing that "I are not testly the resisse of these prisingly as at a cet of clears, with committees of least requiring whole process at all a convention to be guint through agent from will get no thanks the convention to the guint through agent from sold of the color based raiks scanse they are that early in December when Churchel hors, he had called the resistence of their mood in much test, and looking "result the research and soil what sorrowfully lighten," adding some coes when you lose India don't blame me."

His institute to Napari on his birthday to address the All India.

Missinstead as our tion on December 20, 1941 "Missing friends to
a resp. is a relives with what was the position of the Mashims

even three years ago." Januah told them.

Five years ago it was wretched. Ten years ago you were dead. . . . 11. At see, ago that goes to a good which in my jedgment is going to lead you to the promises had where we shall establish our Parestin. People may say what they like and talk as they like. Of course, he who aughts each laught beat. **

It is the process of the League or ristry at Calcutta opting to head a construction of the Longo sorty members and tender Mahasashutes led by the construction of the personal devices of the personal devices to the enemy. The pulse of the enemy was by that unexpected coup, Haq proved again his politic to the enemy. The ord fox who is now called the black of Barsa Landou was a construction of Barsa Landou was a construction of Barsa Landou was a construction. And Juneah asked at Nagour.

And it Bengal, what is the Congress Party dung? The Congress Party has an ported this new coalition intuitive formed by Mr. Haq. and by a riue of it he was able to be ren a government and continue to

be the Premier. . Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr Haq to Lord Linlithgowl I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal! I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims. No

Both Bengali leaders were expelled from the League, "wooded out" as Jimnah put ft.

Lichthgow urged Sir Roger Lumley the governor of Bom say, to invite Jinnah "to a meal" and he shid so in mid January 1942 when Oxford professor Regionald Coupland arrived on his unofficial tour in search of a "creative" ou structural seatlement. "I asked Jinnah to lunch and he came today." Lumley reported, and

Jinnah was most friendly throughout, and if there is any effect from this social contact with lim. I think it would be favourable. After lunch I had a talk with him, which I had intended would be a short one to that he could then tackle Coupland by not the first open ig he proceeded to give me an exposition of the Missim Langist lost on which lasted for three quarters of an hour. It was all most friendly, very logical, and well inglied I out the Missim League point of view but there seemed to be to be not deathout at all of any claims on his position. He appeared would established with our artifiede a though

he expressed some tears that the British Press and public opinion would be taken in by Congress and other Hindu propagands **

Lumley was "considerably impressed" by the logic of Jinnah's arguments, but in the afternorth of their fields are no prospect for any "southor" to the constitutions "deadlock". "India is hopelessly and I malbect irremedually split by racial and reagious divisions which we cannot by dige and which become more acute as any real transfer of power by is draws nearer." Lindingov reported to Amer before the end of January 1942. Aftice was "distinctly disturbed" by Lindingov's "defeater" position has informed Amery after reading it, that he had lost considerable "confidence in he become up in the properting that perhaps "someone" from Home should now be sent to India advanced with a mission to try to bring the political leaders together. The laboury candidate for that be was Su Sufford Cripps, when the labour team of the laboury candidate for that be was Su Sufford Cripps.

Jinnah left Bombay on February 10, taking an all-day and overnight train to Calcutta. A (ubitant crowd awaited bim at Howards Station and escerted him in gala procession to Mohammad Ali Park, over which he holsted the Muslim League dag on February 13, 1042, "Up to the prosent in next M share were a sounted temoralised said the Quard's Azem while across all proceedings to each and ong had by now intected in at of the most of proceedings. Our blood had become cold our show is not or pable of writing and not M shir had on was Lor a place of a purpose acid Lord, so find that our sounce relations a processing to a long the stronger and above a our indiageting more clarities. The stronger and above a our indiageting more clarities of the stronger and above a our indiageting more clarities. The stronger and the sounce of the stronger and the stronger and the stronger and the stronger and the stronger of the most status or our sounce and the stronger and reason our name against the world of the world of the stronger of the most status or our sounce and the stronger of the most status or our sounce and the world of the

where a Brinds of the property of the street of the street

If there are a first tree sites she said to get to getter and form a Dains on the dissider) Providees should be free to stand out and each for come in after a period of option or be set up at the end of it as Doi initions of their own Jennah could not quarref with that own in the other hand, could Congress feel that it is denied the opportunity of complete independence for that part of India which it

If the Odes prepared a rach for Briber's War Cabinet on the positive of the description has gest and a race most who had more not not be recovered in the prewar indiata nearly solutions had expressed anxieties about their own future if the positive of the recovered in the prewar indiata nearly solutions had expressed anxieties about their own future if the positive of the recovery of the recovery of the solution of the soldiers inherent. Whetchill reported, "It is difficult to say how any concession to Court whetchill reported, "It is difficult to say how any concession to Court whetchill reported, "It is difficult to say how any concession to Court whetchill reported, "It is difficult to say how any concession to Court whetchill reported, "It is difficult to say how any concession to Court whetchill reported, "It is difficult to say how any concession to Court whetchill reported in the future of the recovery of the solution of the solution of the future must make a clear, an approach, that we stand by our pledge of 1840, to the Moster of and the Princest, that I my are not to be corrected into any system of too. So Overtiment of which they disapprove This is in any case view of the future of the futu

tal at present in view of possible effects upon the Moslem element in the fudlan Army,"44

Sir Stafford Cripps was brought into Brita na War Cabinet that Febru are as lord prive seal and made leader of the trouse of Commons. He was appointed to serve on Deput. Prime Manister Affice's India comin too of the Was Cabinet and helped draft what that committee considered an oppropriate dectaration't be months end processing to law down in precise and clear terms the steps" by which H s Maresty's government planned to create a new India. Jason, to become a free and equal dominion we am the British Common wealth of Nations Before agreement could be reached on the proposed feelstation however Ra normice to the apanese blitz across Southeast As a Junioh wired Charelo to war gains the "planash e sub-le and consequently alone treacherous' proposats of 5 pt 1 and his roa leagues patrol agerts for the Congress. If the Bottsh Covernment is stampeded into the teap laid for the 6 Modern Inche we ad be said field with most disast ous couse pleners, expensall for regulation the war offer to outfrom d the Quard - Azam On Lebrary 22 at Dolla ment part to men, we's Working Committee Ir made stated that "dire sever," would fellow any British acceptance of Sapre a proposed undury corst ational scheme of reforms.

Chirchill therefore decided that a declaration specing out the constitutional princess for traind accord, Bod shill also a dominion was too durgeous opting restead to send Compisite to line a Cosmological in "parties" in the spot as to here feelings about a proposal the content as watch we have agreed represents a context poince. The document as watch we have agreed represents a context poince. On the chill aformed holds, own nearly Marco. "It that is rejected by the ladian parties for whose benefit that been accessed our successived be proved to the world and we shall stand together and light on it here, should that over be necessary."

Pring Minister Churchill rose in the House of Commons at noon on Wednesday March L. 1942 to proclain in the antiquesy inspiring hartone hat "The criss in the affirm of linds arising out in the available faction has available to shield their and from the chain of the trader." He there announced he decrean to sond not so estigated a minimum of the War Calmet to India than the lord prix sold who car as so he in the far confidence. If the Majesty's Govern out and to I strate their farm to prince their occasion a session of the relation of his force these green mature. It is not to the relation of his life. Calput as thus launched on the most frustrating mission of his life.

Citypa flow into Karnelii on March 22, was "quarantoened" in noladon

overnight, and touched down at New Delhi's airport the following day "Pakistan Day" the second anniversary of the Lahore resolution that was celebrated in Delhi hy a mile-long procession and a mass public meeting addressed by I man. "I can say without fear of contradiction that the Vussimi League stands more firms, for the freedom and independence of this country than any other party" the Quarde Azam told a crowd of 50 000 Mossims in Urdi. Pack We are asking for usuce and fairplay. We have no designs upon our sister communities. We want to live in this land as a free and independent nation. We are not a minority but a nation." Referring to Grippa's mussion, Junah said.

There is the fear that he is a friend of the Congress. He has enjoyed the hospita ity of Pacuca Jawahardal Vehri. That is all true but we said the hospita for the africal out it at some. Don't get could feel. We are propured to face all consequences that scheme or solution which is detrimentated the inverests of Mushins is forced upon us. We shall not only and accept it but resurt it to the atmost of our capacity. If we have to do in the attempt we shall desighting 40 capacity.

Cripps met with Man ana Azad, then out of air, on March 25. The Congress, yes user's Fing ish, he contined was not as good as his Persian or Arabic Azad traisfed that to notif ze endrain "effectively" it was "necessary" to give the invented to the defence of their country." Cripps pointed out that a rategiest yill did had to be regarded as pair of "a much greater theatre of wor "tzad resterated his point however and Cripps decided that whot Congress ready was the "appearance and name of an Indian Defence Minister not actual control over "the movement of troops or other in , any area generits."

Jamah arrived at the viceroy's palace just as Azad was leaving Capps explained that he and not taken the Massim League or Pakistan "propaganda very scriously during his last visit two and a half years ago but assured Jamah that he had "changed" his view because of the "change in the course and the real property of the Pakistan movement. Cripps then handed jamah the document he had brought from London, "which I have raise a sprised him at the distance it went to meet the Pakistan case. For stated of course that he was not prepared to give any views of that we had a long discussion as to its effect especially upon Be agat and the Pir to the two that a long discussion as to its effect especially upon Be agat and the Pir to the the unit thing with which he was concerned was sheller according to the effect viewell of the trustitudion in the event of their so desiring." I finnah them "promised to lay the after sefore his Working Committee in Delhi and to come back and see mis limined ately afterwards. The was extremely cordual and whom we

parted expressed the view to me that the one thing that mattered was to be able to mobilest the whole of Loda behind her ow it defence and that he was personally most unable to achieve this 10 Expert negotiator that he was Jonah wisen retrained in his opening meeting with Cripps froe any "periodecty criticism."

Crippes access g with Candh: on March 27 o'd not begin on a happy note Candh: considered it extremely nadvisals of to pyrisal; the coeunor and urged Cripps to retrain from dung smasking what Junear thought

I told him that he had suggested that, in view of the da get of caseage it would he wase to publish at oelone too long, and he case proted this as being, an aid cation that I made we as according to schomes. The masked him how, supposing Jimah were to accept the scheme and too gress were not to be would himse to allow me to receive the scheme and too gress were not to be would himse to allow me to proceed. He said that in this care and somes the proper or to would be for me to throw the responsibility up. I juriar it is a family to the most tower to be Congress in their by negatives, direct with them in by secreting them missons on we be lossed to thought that I it was pure allowed out a Jimah when a very glassified that would give han on find in the received, that he go take out the job and that he might raccord 40.

It was one of Candhis most balliars ideas himility over an art provist and responsibility to Juriah but so busess species or calling touch. In the courage or windom to try the idea.

On March 29. Nohi, came to breakfast with Cripps, will her hear them went to Biria. Heave to see Goulds: Acad, and others of the Voice in Committee of the Congress Cripps listened among meet for heave. The conditions and he left are in complete cand that well was rule as a form and he left are in complete cand that it was not worth argues as so in less they dream to accept it and that it was not worth argues on a form and alteration or whell in the was not achieved to press be succeptations in view or the govern I be some than a season of the self-government in I have the last than was a season of the massing of facilities and press on ambiguity, and transcendental doubt.

Menon as the key to resolving the command puzzle but had buffed Morbes shall be Methal as the half of wordestroyed Motal Nebru, and had all but driven Jonach into perminent or the large of the large o

countless furtle hours of interne negotiation. Perhaps it was just that with stakes so high he could not resist a roll at that total game suspecting as one his confluents just 1 that "it he prought this settlement off. Unpps would certainly replace. Unition." His fatal flaw was however that he believed "imself ormipowent Europeting what Kiping had written of his well-intentioned inebears, he hoped to "ius in the First."

At this juncture President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent his former assistant secretary of war Colon. Lour Johann, out to India as his personal representative arrowering Johann to Lie chow as a man of broates representative arrowering Johann to Lie chow as a man of broates representative arrowering Johann to Lie chow as a man of broates relating to it cit supply who was selected for "Lie sit sportant mission because of his ordation in adults and high character." Cil mobil 4 men and Lighthgow were a manuscrabined the possible "polical approximation of a secret agenda to Colonel Lindsons orbison Lindshgow screpters at tive in Was, ignor wrote that Roosevelt seemed to his kitait the pain concerning remed at the least-op did no go far enough and or the "til at complete autonomy, including power to mise armos, should be go emiliar time need."

As soot as its thigow timery and Church I earned that Johnson and Roosest t would no extlary to twist their pol real grant by way of comgod is more to a someouperating of his shall ug as Johnson part Congress the Citypa game was over City Coppered sed to believe he was Brished Fig. 8 pt meeting with lactach maders he long press conferences sene ng long r and songer six nt to a group theme and longerly dogging the horse that had said divise him. The aid broads and mong star of his political career weilt to to eclipse and it fadaes borning sum. On April 2 Azad and N. I. a hanced Capps the Congress Work of Committees resolution rejecting its offer instead of thanking then, and flying home Copps warms the text of the resourcen to Churchil and sit up a meeting with Azad, Neara, and field marshal for Archel and Wavell 1883-1950. The tight appea commander melbel who cry need furthflow as viceros the following year was then fighting a lowing battle in Malain and Burma, desperetrly hoping he is aid keep the Japanese from seventing through India's Eastern well of raggerd mountamous corests. He had no time and less talent, for politica gamesmanship. With one glass over and little to one le about Wavell's was hard, a personality to appeal to \ him Azad or Cripps. Nor was he ready voi intarily to release a left the or I tary strongs he controded Still Cripps was determined to try to bring Vehru and Wave AR D. BATTHESS.

Jamah left Dolhi on Thursday, Apri. 2, taking the hight train to All Links when the highest train to All Links when the highest train in San All Links were the state of the San All Links when the highest training the san All Links when the san All Link

Allahabad's Central Radway Station, then estorted we through more than a hundred green it use decorated as hes of anamph that led to the packed pandal in Mahabadabad's gardon Jimah, resented his one of Criposa proposals in a car succuet manner saving, now that are scheme was really dead how deeply disappointed. If Muslims was, to find that the entity and integrity of the Muslim varion has not been express! recognized Arviett up to solve he problem of India by the process of eviding the real issues and by our complusions the territorial entity of the provinces, which are more accidents of British policy, and administrative division a fundamentally wrong, Maho, India will not be satisfied onless the right of mahabadabad seed determination is a required a recognized.

On Faster Sunday of that year (cone) (all most not Chappe or he first time at the vicerox's house over linch and each longrized a pot tial affy in the other for both were liberal legal minds who felt as tar removed as terection is from the vicen's and has commander- reduct as her were enfearable trave Vehry, and Azad Both ergs on more canidence of high places in London and Washington, moreover than either in a New Delta or hould And each, to a river rad tallen under he spe of Nebrus cosmoportan charm to in the spirit it Easter Sanday they joined forces hoping to resurrect the alsoor that a litrary world on Good Friday They moved with great energy resonantefulness and top secrees trucking Nebru, Azad and all conders of leaguess at all horrs of lay a condition convincing themselves that there was advertabilities the end of news anotherional Linual. The came to be seve to at Il Congress really wanted was control over the Me stry of Distoner so the lata ked out as a sorate, ngerious former was retailed rouse, con commilly by pullinder de Indian while all data remarked in sporest, was world remain under he commander made it was world steen and a marster of variand they actuals thought ha would reflier to so or India's problem (pps baceven gawn plats of cithan about consters for the new unbonal goveroment by use going to in fall and Congress Frisiden: Azid wis his cho for home or aster it carge of palie. Asac whose Januah was la net speak to and referred to as a die a me More consort and the Lin consinced Selic of the wisdom of cooper ting only if the same will at inand per Corner property to agit Copes alo suggistered cite line. It was all an illusion apun out of India's torrid heat

Many cables were exchanged between London and India in the next few days, including one from Churchill informing Copps that Joinson was not Boosevolt's representative "in any matter outsion the specific mission to be the next succession of the large excession of the large ex

spit is see oil four on April 10, 1942 just as Gandh, had predicted they will be too to be jeen, with Gripps Expaining us parts a rejection of the offer, Congress president Azad wrote Cripps.

We are a prepared to assume responsibility provided a truly National Government is formed.... But in the present the National Covernment is the a Carmet Government with two power and must not need, be a continuation of the Vicerovy's Recentive Council. We would point out to you that the suggestions we have put forward are not ones only but may be considered to be the unamous formed at the load pumps. Continues the matters there is no difference of opinion among various groups and parties.

"Il a tunuación as that assertion." I mah told the press as soon a read tach his dissert or several da s later. "Madim India has retalled to the congress does not represent not to his a seri baha at the congress does not represent not to his a seri baha at the act at a bads or the Hinkow the Da action of Classes the academic and after univerties. He also repudite a seri the serial trongress had carticle on wate (represent the act at all many research award had been his but position for larger the his act at all many research award had been designed for larger and to a his confidence of the standard for larger to the present of the confidence of the standard for larger to the present of the confidence of the present o

no and I be a long or Same or To Azid he wrote four sagat the Non-Coverno a sor or which must be Calmer Co. the and of hower Without orstanional changes of a most complito come and a compression of generalist as well not be possible as on The process of the Vision of the more three has far as pos-Rose all read (1 read) not pore Crippes departure report e it is the a tre States. The eding is a most on consults held that the admin Las and controlle with mass of the British Con-mount o men to I state and other government and bestand gither willingness of the Indians to cotrust technical, military and naval defense antrol to the competent British authorities. American public opinion cannot suderstand why. If the British Government is willing to permit the component parts of India to seeds from the British Empire after the war, it is not will ug to permit them to enjoy what is tantamount to self-government cut up the war "44 Chinchill chose to pocket that cable rather than show it a har exhibet or use it to were Grapps back to New Delhi from Karnehi,

where he just landed Churchill had not after all become prime minister to preside over the dissolution of His Majesty's Empire.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League issued its resolution on

the Cripps offer shortly after Congress resolved upon rejection.

The Committee while expressing their granification that the possibility of Passivan is recognised by implication in providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India regret that ... no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee may malermative but in say that the proposals in the present form are unacceptable. The Musalmans cannot be satisfied by such a Declaration on a with question affectable their fature desired and demand a clear and presses prone acceptance or the subject. Any attribute to solve the fature problem of fature by the process in evading the real issue is to court disaster.

Once again, Januali had cassed the minimal terms for negot abing any settlement to the most persistent political proportion of roccit. Indian instry Paki stan was hardly a "periiclosty" demand.

Dawn in Delhi (1942-43)

Is such a position or sound from throughout the remaining years of World World Hollen such discovering ports with Congress of an ecouncil of a vertical discovering and the Hashin argin to characters of an ecologies become more bostile and non-to-service to the suppose become more bostile and non-to-service to the suppose than every Congress become and Maskin League caders for the suppose they required to the last January stock rose to sew heights at Lorienta and as in Surface and New Delhi.

pent's political matter was earch misread at Whitcha. "I don't suppose Jamah will small to seem eas national at than Congress and therefore can emerge existing mathematical Amery work. I bill fugor thank.

I an Craps was near a coat finition and speculating on possible future.

It he does. I suppose you could give him certain seats balancing his men with Armedicar are pessent, a new India or two out still retaining the majority of your existing Executive? Or you may simply decide to the of bringing a political leaders from their of the two main parties? . The Muslim League, I suppose, will still be officially non-co-operative, but probably more co-operative them bitherto in practice in view of the definite concession to the possibility of Pakistan that we have made?!

In the wake of Cripps, the governor of the Punjah reported that "the with community were very seriously perturbed by the potentially fiveiperous nature of the War Cabinet's proposals." Sikhs were afraid that if the Punjah refiguel to accede to an all ludic confederace, that wealthy Mushin-majority

province once ruled by Sikh Mahara; as would be enveloped by "the outer darkness of Paiestan. They regarded themselves as being in danger of ever-lasting subjection to an unity upathetic and themselves as being in danger of ever-state in the subjection to an unity upathetic and themselves as Mahamanadan Rain "State Mahamanadan Rain". State that went back to seve thenth century mughal imperial rule. "We are doing what we can to get with the situation," Governor Clancy assured the viceroy. It was a most important warring, passed on to Whitehad is Land gow since martia. Sikks numbered second only to Muslimi in the British Indian army.

Blood and tears are going to be our iot wheth it we also then or not." Nebru predicted all too accurated a a press confirence in a lababed in mid-dipal after cropps flew home. "Our mode and tears will flow maybe the parelised soil of India needs them so that the fact flower of freedom, any grow again."

(1) pps held a press conference as London on April 22 and insisted "The problem now becomes not a publical our Lat the problem of he defence of India and in that I have had the asserting a many of the eaders that they are going to cooperate to their atmost 2 Asserting the I had the est Aehm and I much occur to condon he replied negatively for ing cast that neither of their would want to leave India in "existing consistances" even If they were invited.

In Madras, Chakravarti Rangopalachari (R. now dramotically sought to lead Congress in the datest on of co-operation both with the Best ish war effort and the Meson League. He resided over a neeting of forty-six members of Madr's Congress log that is and proposed two results tions, agreement in which was reached in late April. The first organd that since it was in sess ite or the people to book in terms of neutrality or passwift throng awasion." It was a solutely and orgothy accessary for Congress to Tremove even obstacle toward estab slining at Valiona. Admonstration." It therefore, aged the All-India Congress Farty to locknowedge the Mushr League's 'claim for separation," thereby removing til doubts and lears in this regard and to havite the League for "consultation for the purpose of arriving at agreement and section g of national Govern natural to meet present emergency. The second resolution requested permission or the Al mula Congress for the Madras Congress to mite with the Muslim Langue and ther province a parties a restore popular government, as a coabt or or ristry in Madras. Both resolutions passed overwhylmangly It was the hit is pertant break in Congress's non-cooperaing rinks a sigmificant victory for Junales policy and the British, and a direct challenge to Gandlo and Nelvo.

The All-India Congress met the following week repudiating C. R. and his Madras resolutions. On April 30, 1942, he resigned from the Working

Commutee Gandly remained in Wardha but sent his loving disciple Miraburns, Manclaine Saide to Adshabad with a resolution he drafted for presentation to the Congress, stating

Whereas the British War Cabinet's proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps have shown up British impenalism in its nakedness as never before. The ALCC, is of opinion that Britain is incapable of defending India. It is natural that whatever she does is for her own definor. There is an eternal condict between Indian and British interests.

The Indian army has been maintained up till now mainly the dindian assumption to the shoen can public verrested from the general population who can in no sense regard it as their own.

In all 's quart. Such that we have a warring against the British Imprire. India's participation in the war has not been with the consent of the representatives of the Indian people. It was purely a British act If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan.

The ALCC, is, therefore, of opinion that the British should withdraw from India.

Nel a mored but Commel Johnson and Franklin Roosevelt might help admin to each via Congress were a recompositive of the Vietnaman A are as a solution was agreed upon by the Working Committee as so the all the viations the ighther resolution passed on Miller and a viation of the viation of t

I see no difference between the Pascust or Nazi powers and the Allies. All use explicters, all resort to ruthlessness to the extent required to compast the end America and Britain are very great nations, but their greatness will count as dust before the bar of domb humanity, whether African or Astatic.... They have no right to talk of human I berty and all clse unless they have washed their hands clean of the roll itto?

Two American journalists interviewed Gandhi that week in Wardha, and one asked "But what does a free fudin meen, if, as Mr Jinnah said, M id in will not accept Hindu rule?" The Mahatma replied "I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entries India to God or in modern parlance to anarchy Then all the inition will fight one unother like dogs, or will, when real responsibility new them come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to artise and of the hands of Gandhi was remended by a reporter for The Hindu that art recently he had a ways said there could be no Samraj without III or a Mistin so dy, and then he was asked why he had of late malated.

there would be "no unity unit! India ias achieved independence?" The seventy-three-year-old Mahatma answered

Time is a merciless enemy I have been aiding myself why avery whole hearted attempt 1, ade by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely failed from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest course of Islam is India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the thand power level available deduction of the transition of the transition of the transition of the resultant conclusion that the two communities will come together already amendately after the British power comes it a final end as together.

Jimah immediately responded to this with. I am glica that at last Mr. Co. dh has openly decrease that more unit Hima. At of an settler cut can only come after the accessment of indices only notice and has accely thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last 22 years ^{mo}

The All India Congress met again to early Au_b, as Gundly fold his followers. This is a structure better. We shall get our freedom by fighting to cannot fail to the skers. The Brothers will to to give a growdom when we have made sufficient satisfies and process out strength. At a time when I am a so d to be melt the light stiff of the Brothers had process out strength. At a time when I am a so d to be melt the light stiff in the feathers had been a so did to be not the large time in the state of the Brothers had not the state from my min. A same of fate was reported to have said had the drusts arm was ready to abandon India much the was they had Burma, and that the Satingraha carry again womes prove victorious in a week. If it make a week it will be a made and if this happens at would mean incling the Brothers, heart," Gandhi taid, adding

Maybe wasdom will dawn on the British and they will understand that it will be wrong for them to put in at the very people who want to light for them. Maybe ... a change may come in Mr Immahamud after all. H. wii, think that those who are fighting are the sons of the soil and if he sits quiet of what use would Paristan be for him... Cod has helped us. When I raised the stogun "Quit India" the people in India who were then feeling despondent felt 1 had placed before them a new thing. If you want real freedom you will have to come together and such coming together will create true democrace. We

The War Cabanet transmitted full authority to Linbthgow to arrest Candhi and the Congress Working Committee at any time he desired appropriate Landon considered Congress's most recent resem on an open

rebellion" against the government of India, Sikander warned Governor Claucy of his suspicion the Gandho might try to "make terms with Jinosh Iv an our and not offer or Pakistar and then present innited front to Government. "I Gandho did in fact, write on August 8 that

Provided the Mussim League co-operated fully with the Congress demand for invasion to independence without the a shiest reservation the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it today exercises to the Muslim League on behalf of the whole of India. . . And the Congress will not only not obstruct any Government that the Muslim League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government in running the machinery of the free State. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity.

Se an often might have tempted [tenah of he had helicyco in or trusted to account it had believed in a factor days at a not he had to dithe press. "All Candhis help in the factor of the candhis help in the factor of the factor

Every one of you should, from this moment onwards, consider yourself a fire man or woman, and act as if you are free and are no longer under the heal of the severabson. C and a too, his Longress colleagues after they passed his "Qunt India" resolution on the evening of August 8, 1942. "Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your bearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: 'Do or I've 'We shall either free India or die in the attempt."

Landingow waited no longer. Candhi and the entire Congress Working Cornel three were arrested next day before dawn. Candhi's linal message to the on. 117 was written at 5 00 a.m., shortly before he was taken into custody "Everyone a free to go the fullest length under alarms. Complete that look by strikes and other non-violent messes. Satyagrahis must go out the look by strikes and other non-violent messes. Satyagrahis must go out the look by thickes and other non-violent messes. Satyagrahis must go out the look of look of the look of the look of the look of look of look of looks of look of looks of lo

I deepts regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has sampled a most dangerous mass movement in spile of numerous warnings from various individuals, parties and organism one," said Junah on August 9, 1942. I make Gandlu he did not spect the war to end swiftly nor out be think the British would lose. He never behaved, moreover, that Satyageofia could reason one left the summoned his Working Committee to Bundas on 4 gust 16 to plan the League's strategy. They not as his boass for four days and tornally resolved to deplore the decision of he All India Congress Committee to banish an "open achelion" for the purpose of establishing Congress Hinch channation in him. The resal was only lawlessness and considerable destinction of life and property." The League view the "Quit Isdia" movement as an attempt to "torce the Musalman to submitt and surrender to Congress terms and dictation."

The violence started 1 B. aba a few case fite Canada's arrest quickly spread agts the act of fromness Dell and Rham hi spin La discrete of the potential program is produce sweep 1 talk had a batalying a paid everywhere Nowac the ness set of the report in 1s urbaness or set is. By a gast 1' however 1 talk had worde to A ici. "In Delh backe 1 we been a good deal of treable Cascaduse may be heave and some doing has been done to import their again 1 star a lipint ner to at a 1, due to millhouds on strike, and the Chief Commissioner is quite confident that he cun handle the situation."

Ind by ond-4 gust a related people were deart in Bonding, where the discrete discrete wapting as a regular tors of the six of Radway of round Patria in any cert I dear were form up and the Broady rescholar arms troops to the affected area, will I rule got outhorizing that ne groung fent are of substitutes. The report of such martial violence into a hed it Broadways every tend to papear to any Indian are served in the Indian are at result students and rifferful as the are called Conduct Subjections after got a for a surface of the served at modernments. I open mone of the Indian are at result students and rifferful as the are called Conduct Subjections adding I at not a surface by the interest of the served of the served

A week after Gandhi's arrest, Lord Linkthguw was pleased to note that British action had "Indied up the Bombay position" and was "relieved" that things were relatively "quiet in Delhi, for see ous and prolonged rioting in this capital city of a country is not a very good advertisement "" Linkth-unitate of information and broadcasting Shi C. P. Rae aswam: Afyar then reported that "The Murlim League has decisloped cold feet and dustries."

o segonate with Gandh." adding "With my opin on or Januah I feel that were sent shourd forestall in a. I get in the range venture to assert that to sieda as one Governor his spoken of the lang the organism or is of oriow the wrong method." Afyar had earlier appealed to the viceroy to allow it is to be opened a sethement with Gandh. But Lankingov had refused opened have to see Condh. Indicated a variety convince him to stay in ministerial harness, So Afyar, formerly Travanace States, prime minister discussed to but Malayar to one whether to stay in the opened to but Malayar prometries which he hoped would remain unusual the protection of Britain a paramount power.

"jimian has taken advantage of the intest turn in events to raise his cerns against us (not that that matters much), and also to raise them as 1st (orgress." Let theyou it orgen. Amore a long that 'a new and let be a move a least support to me acond at the Game tends, coupling the principle of Pakistan by whomsoever it was backed.

It remains pretty clear that there is going to be nothing a cities the Congress or the Mile of Largue with the war asts."

A ubassador Lord Halifax (ex-viceroy Lord Irwin) cabled a most secret 1 sea 1 cm M ally grow is aft. A gust directly to favory secretary Anity derically a favory is aft. A gust directly to favory secretary Anity derically a favory is a favory favory in the construction of the state Department that the house is a many received most of its "financial support" from "the Indian is est I title us well as Mohammedan, the great Mohammedan landlords and highsh business community particularly that of Calcutta. This most to community particularly that of the last his construction of india's problems and to be grower to modify a factoristic of sectionary reason who the Minancipal land to the congress Party's belief in the national ownership of all most of properties.

At the end of August, Linkthgow wired Churchill complaining about wireteen "intervention." The vicercy suddenly called the unrest

by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent a what we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of editiary security. Meth violence remains rampant over large tracts of the countryside and I am by no means confident that we may it it see an September a formulable attempt to renew this wide appears a sharing of har was effort. The trees of buropeans in outbring decrease in the country of the country

as a thoroughfure for U.S. help to China... These are the circumstances in which I am now threatened by visitations from Wendell Wilkie and Sherwood Eddy. The latter threatens to come to India in the hope of sepang beway of mediation. My experience of peripatetic Americans which is now extensive as that their zeal in teaching as our business is in inverse ratio to their understanding of even the most elementary of the problems with which we have to deal.²⁸

"Discussing the Averican invaders. I. Cabinet this norming much sympaths was expressed for you." Among assered and figure is September 1 and a clear convection that you must be must be must be the retaining of on the other has 1. Aden and others are that it could only degood your finding to the task to the best in type of Amongous must dege our agent ross. Wilkings would also used and Wilking and adds expectably amenable to the affirmer of good of a origine." For example, the affirmer of good of a origine. "It can example to disposed of and as even in the fact a method of a a way a resister upon that ongress resilt represents has been also also exact anylong thought and the Hindu priesthood." ""

By Soften new 5, the all may department of the government of India reserved that exclusing Bihar in least 340 India is had been as led by a liter her since A give I am 630 work deet, and is, had been to take and to be "considerably I gher." Pouce had a stance reach a ghi deal is Troops were a red but not less may say laces, at most of which they wore I all out Some title wave battale ins worth in legal British at an solition were sed during that most bloods and legal battle of World Mar Unique I against their real people as de India There was no war of a care and control of the total may her it lead and wounded in Bihar since Divish aircraft repeatedly strafed civillans with machine gun fire.

I always circulate enhousements in the method of the British Government and the Congress. Journal hold the informational press assets held at his house in New Delb at september a 3 asked fother was chance of any tion the atom his parts a deniand. Journal regard. The was start by assent for sixtee, amount a felt ripees worth, there is more for barga-arting. The Medical is a rate care and forward any demand which can be any reasonable. The Medical house stands for independence for the Topic is and for an Mussall, and Hindu India has got the another of the true is and for an Mussall, and Hindu India has not the control of the standard of the angle of the control of the standard of the standard of the control of the standard of the standard of the standard of the standard of the control of the standard of t

U.S. public pressure, urging Britain to "do something" for India, musticed as the war progressed and American arms, mon and money

la ed an ever grea er row a shorwig up Alued defeases preparing the have mag pads from which to recapture Western Enrope and China as well is so theast As a Harry Hopkins spoke to me last right about his strong pressure now being exerted on the Fresident," Halifax warned Eden, "The Called Should row ellow strong y puth clop non-strong unithose mass and I hope to a biliposal clossly or do something to counteract it. Other wise I fear American press, which on the whole has stood by its remarkably a military and the should be stood by the remarkably a military to the detriment of Anglo American relations." ²⁴

What have we to be ashamed of in our Covernment of India?" Chur, asked American Locator garden parts that September "What should be to cologeth or so the vector area to go our a the instance of some acknowings". For eighty years we have given it peace and internal and internal tountry. We have looked after all classes, and we have protected the atterway in the asknowing and a sections, and a section of the parts to a policy of with the sections.

Charchil and his cabinet were most concerned about the rapidly mountage such g halanar, where he first a rowed Judia as a result of ward no road returned a discontraction of white capacity of white could be all fronts. All this are indicated a dward large middled to Britain for rail tengraph, and after in part, him works most returned him used nest that hat out allows in sterling With halm in heal due troops serving overseas and find an teaching With halm in heal due troops serving overseas and find an item sources over our every variety of processes for the ware the habanes was review. The it has a finding har in sterling bandage to her own olong for our estimated \$0.000 in the ware of \$0.000 in him to the contract of the same finding was a large are also review worse out not so discontinued as the "" A ners are maintagow and received worse out not so discontinued as the "" A ners are maintagow and received worse out not so discontinued as the contract of the same of the formula of Indo British payments on what are balance had to page in his as tayon.

In October of 1942, C. R. unveiled his plan for "resolving" India's deadlock suggesting what the viceros should act as the Crown would now crises
or England" and select the most popular and most responsible haders of
India to assist him in running what would, in effect, be a "national government," Five "important Congressmen" (including any currently in prison)
should first be chosen, and then Jinnah could be invited "to join this Govermment with as many men of his choice" as he "liked." There might additonally, be three others to represent the leaser intononties. C. R. beluved
to it not her Congress por the League on hid reject his plan welloost "insing

the r readership." Jannah, however immedia:ely categorized it with a number of other "late-flying" schemes and dismissed them all

Junah addressed his parts a council in New Delhi on November 9 and warned them of propaganda to marepresent the Meal in assigner as all es of British majorithsm an adda, obstructing the path of his freedom and independence, which was he can red, currency circulating in the Listed States. "To hose who have been correctly todowing the trend of events in local this allegation about obstructing to parts of triumand is not only diagraced. In the statistic he assisted indices. To these days it is accounted by the hose days of the propaganda are capted of visitions of the passing of the hazards fifth the prossures and was keen he constituted the hazards of the passing of the pasi

Cry is found for self-left with so little influence in Chirchi I's War of abrect har in recogned in November 22, cite a need. It he was send as unister of arrestst graduation by a world in ten return to his partial stag, until Athles one to prove Athles was Amerys charactor or and I into a winder orged canadala and I was the led an problem and has no sente catal abration as to any dear it, short of to dissolve at 1 above depute as the character at his Canada accepted Amerys advice Athless rising advictionary into the control of the proposal responsibility to the control of the proposal responsibility to a Labour acaders too h for an identification of as also party solvential described and the politic of the control of the proposal responsibility to the party of an acceptability of the politic of the proposal responsibility to the party of the party of the party of the party of the politic of the proposal of the party of the par

Late is 342 Live there received who he cancel of quite definition related secret report of a receivable at the January views on the "Person of American the Clear of expose on the "Person of the Texture source of the Texture of the views of views of the views of views of the views of the views of the views of views of the views of views o

DAWN IN DELET (1942-43)

The U.S. victory at Guadaleanal coming so soon after Recomel's defeat North Atria raised Aliced spirits the world over especially a Whitehall a in Amery found "nothing out cherrfy, aces" predicting that Tudha was becomeing upon 1943 in much better moud than she began in it. "But me so in Bergal Twin spiceters of Japanese my asion and in a cf., one another to striking terror among Bergal's population." The goog is receiving easily attention from enemy armen. Ispaham reported.

or so, position in the province is growing more and more serious each day. In some areas, it is most couts... Then of thousands move died and williams have been readered borneless and are starying. The disaster is really terrible.... The japs have been over some at they have visited is four times. Half of Calcutta in the real.

a sinvid start of Indias worst familie of the century a tragedy that one so not ween we am three relicon Bengal lives during the forthcoming year.

expensed goaces the people to the point of madness." Gardhelm of a goal witting that a called a lifethy or that they will be a fast according to capacity. I must resort to the answer of the attrests. The mast resort to the appears of the attrests and the state of the other transfer of the action of the action

An emergency War Clabinet meeting was held on the next Sunday at which Amery reported

Winstom . . . launched out on the Gandla subject at once. At first . . . mattering away his disastisfaction, but giving me the impression that he was going to agree with a strug of the shoulder. Presently, however, he warmed up and worked himself into one of his states of and gration over he'da. I made offorts to tr, and bran, hen to the point that whatever might or my at the che less nethod of handling so per har a sit more as he Gandlas our his same was not that bee whether you were to override and to the same and run the risk of resignation. That put the sample breached asade he saving that it would not matter if they did all resign, we could carry on just as well without them used this our hour of triumph everywhere in the world was not the time to crawl before a miserable little old man who had always been our enemy ⁶⁴

But Gandhi had already been informed of the governing of indias offer to recess him and particled sed. I shall be given that to take my cost is a detection of processory to pred the little old man in the case of tits ordered. The impending test best here or an end one taken as a tree man. "OThe vicerus heaved a sigh of great relief.

Insuch fell as adaption claimed effect as the rebill true does ing Ispalians to arge him to keep bringals wavering Meshi. League more arge of the legislature from his arge in resultation as a ling to be government on the Mahathrias release. After the first of Kial Cind is last Likelihoov was pleased to report that "Mass is continued to would apart and it had so paper. Date in to right his criticis." Date is leaster aday a critical of Canachas suggestion white articles are all 25th January that he was ready to see Janual form a ratical government which is equivalent, it suggests to a tenancy-altered as a favour."

The League remained a no from the mounting waves of protest and a next throughout limits triggered by C, indicating 11. New Declars legislater coagust he bear real and the Mashe Legislater or a gard not on Wo have every sympathy for the sectimental concern of our Hindicated so the form who was to be Pakes and first prime minister. "But we are couble to join them in this matter." Joinal was mitted by Sapr to a could be of the real every matter to form a could be sapr to a could be of the real every matter. The but have seen the standard riving but 1 C and 3 test "but he decland noting as an along was delighted to a could be that the sit was a size of a matter for the Handic leaders to consider."

Three British dectors, including the surgeon-general, who observed the Mahatens, predicted that he would probably not survive another week of the latter of the collection of the latter of the latter

and with the old man's arteriosclerosis the doctors expected a heart attack at any moment. Three members of the vicerous expectative council resigned on Fouriary 17, 1943, in protes over the vicerous decision out to telease Gindh, unconditionally even when danger to his de accorded from the fast "10, I i," gow accepted those resignations and found at least three other higher members of his council woods, but managed to consume them to "stay the course. The viceros merted", the governors of the improved possible of Carolin sides in the code word for which wis Rubicon." Water 18, them that considering Gaudh is justified as our prisoner and a declared refined to the fine of the fine o

A belie it signed or with that they doctors on February 21 warned that the half rentered a cross was selzed at th severe activity and almost fainted and pulse occasion nearly imperceptable. All the to exert one cannot nearly however, a lettered may do at the Hs stamma shaper set the world and they shed has a coap friends who attributed his serveral to diver a interest ton formed. I however a supered "fraid" and reged Landt govern "supered doctors not address" who could set used to the company of the and octors not address. Our claim has so used year processing them principle and letter particularly and the set of the could be a formed as the set of the could be a first ordered as the set of the could be a superior of the needed in ports issued a Canada a shyer has not many treatment of that most famous of Indian patients.

Theu on the morning of March 3 Candh, broke his that His weight had false from 60 of 31 your is, but the next day had by reported from Boar bay that "everything is now normalicus."

Meanwards Fix at II — if Bergal remained Januahs worst personnel policial for is long as he southance presenting ever a new League consistent. I had Masth majories province he appeared to hele the observation of Daesshe I Bergals for premise admits survived at the head of a each find of his own Progressive Mushim League, shifting Mahasahha. Congression Ferward Buse is season mental to mean dipepular to see a power leaps againg been sted from the League. He like Is soon to see a power leaps againg been sted from the League. He like Is soon to see a second to the season to he can be large as a life of the league of the large as a life of

I am going to sacrifice all, that I now possess, for the sake of my country and of the solidarity of my community. I have thought carefully over the situation and with a view to faculitate my coming back to the League, I am ready to tender my resignation which will mean the automatic dissolution of the Progressive Coalition Party May I now get a line from you to tell me that I have understood you alright, and that the ban put on me will be lifted as soon as I tender resignation of my office as Premier? If so, I will take my step I have inclusived.

Junah reminded Haq that he had heard that promise before, the last Nover serior fact when Haq had agoed o arry out these or I took within a faitingh 35 Ispaham and his triends kept up pressure gainst Haq sicolition within Calcutas assembly which togeth with the Japanese pressure mounting from oils de shook popular confile de everywhen an Beagal agoest a govern at that a reserved boll acceptation to declaring the propose or feeding, then Board Morel Fazia. Has a mod Junal, in Ispaham's pressure trying to clarify his prospects of resourcing as Bengal's premier of indeed, he resigned and rejon of the League After speaking with Hay Junoth privitely assured Ispaham's but it is add not pussibly has be Fazia. Haq as leader of the Muslim League in the Legislature. 30

Faz. Haq obsoush a secutival time resigned his days of power were yet as he indeed showhere desperately working round the circle to some up support as his forces broke ranks. In the last week of March, however, he are ved a no-confidence of on the "food question" by our vote due to the absence of three Mushim League members. Irree casys rate, Ispatians wired from Calcults jubilantly to report that "Fazlul Haq has been routed". The Lagrie appared as seats contested aga ast Haq's Progressives. Muslims were "crossing the floor" daily to join the once depleted agas of he Mish of Lagrie "Pear Mas naw, I cross the floor this after book," wrote Ispahant. "We are expecting another two to come over by onight inshallah, our wound of having the majority of the Muslim MLAs it—opporite us, will noon be healed. Fazlul Haq looks a picture of misery "the And on March 29. Fazlul Haq's ministry fell the following month hiswafa "nazimuddiu, the leader of Benga's Muslim League, was invited to form a new government."

That April the League held its annual season in New Delhi. A map of Palostin adorred the data, and a batter flew over it reading "Freedom of India fles in Pakistan" Jimuli ware a white sherwant with a gold button engroved with "P" planed to lay starched collar. He was greated with "treI it idous ovation and cheering" as he entered the packed panda. With his angle monstries now running Bengal, the Panjah, Sind and Assan, Juliush insisted, "Thus is only the starting point..., In the North-West Frontier Provinces... my information is—and it is based on very reliable sources. the Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League. That sin mer. Long. Ministry ander A stangaeb Khan would come to power in his war. Don't forget the Minor. Provinces II is they who have spread the glat when there was darkness in the compact Provinces. It is they who war the spra heads that the Congress wanted to crush. We have got a great don't to do.... Our goal is clear; our demands are clear."

In ah then reviewed the history of a more Musium conflicts from the more it is excutary, after which he stid light or a historing strack upon all site as the tis, accusing the Mahating of waiting to turn the whole it till, it has If note as beginn. He went so far as suggest a tie is somitted at the other however, anguing "Notious works welcome it more than at the Missian Length on the basis of Fakstan Length or softeneds who be Missian from on the basis of Fakstan Length or the has made it is great stay for hote Hisson and Mosalmans. If he has made it was an what is there to prevent Mr. Gaudhi from writing direct is more.

I make specifies both in the meetings of the Working Committee and the Sciences of amountee including content of the Open Session have continued to meas a solution of the Amountee of this large resonance of the Amountee of the Science of the Scie

Its has final warned the British, he has expressed has profound dissillated on with their attitude he has larged Provincial Leagues now to place theories on a war footing in preparation for what is to come, he has castigated the Capitalists and pampered the masses (on whose sympathy and goodwill be has to have his future stringgle) by his references to "social justice" and "conomic reorganisation", he has tried to impress upon the Provincial Premiers the fact that their own future lies only in following his lead and above all be has, a order to show his home fides to the neutral world, extended an open and a most final invitation to the Congress to approach him for a sottlement if it so desires. Inevitably the next stage will be a set in the first of the congress to approach him for a sottlement if it so desires. Inevitably the next stage will be

human's shread appreciation of Indian politics and the ever-shifting interaction among its major parties had never been more clearly revealed. Its greath overrated estimate at British postwar power however reflected his far less sophisticated appreciation of U.S. Bussian, and Chlinese potential for more rapid expansion. Anticipating that the war could last another three years." Jamah wisely arged to followers to "put our house in order" during that interlude largement strategist that he was, he concluded with this warring. "The fight being anevitable, we must make our propagations fluctures."

Nor was the shrewdest of India's politicists anaware of how careful, his words were recorded copied and cabled the work, were, a keep rouble the seep of officials at Great Bottoms anglest echeums of power. Open y, before the mass molience that astened to his president an address at Delhi, Jimah said.

If they have got any housest and capabile agents they night to be kopt influmed in London. I once more draw the attention if in Brickit Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed, and I inform these from this plant one that the capit attitues, and cheap pointment—not to use any stronger anguing at the shabby treat continued one to Mushim line as a langer of them. The Mushim League calls apon the British covers nent to come forward without any fasher delay with an any proposal declaration government of the Mushimass the right of self-determination, and to pledge themselves that they will about a the verthet of a pletone of on the new of the resolution passed at the Mushima Langue Session in Lahore in 1940.

I say to the Musalmans . . . 100 million Musalmans are with as When I say 100 million: Musalmans I mean that 95 per cent of them are with ma, leaving aside some who are traitors, cranks, superment reliable in the same and from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phoenti-like rise and regoneration of Muslim India from the very athes of its ruination . . . & a maracle. The people who had lost everything and whe were placed by providence between the two stones of a mill, not only came into their own in a very short time, but became, after the Entiah, socially the most oddit, militarily the most varile, and politically the most decisive factor in modern India. Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. The goal is near, stand united, persevere and cuared forward.

Even before he ended has address, and and prolonged cheers and cries at "the drie zone Zadahad". "Pakistan Zadahad." Muslim League Zadahad." The strongs that wome earry his message to droom of Muslims beyond range. I Jinnaha fran voice Soon they would be a factor beginn their great leader in the pain-filled march to their tre associated.

15

Karachi and Bombay Revisited (1943-44)

Januah's challenge to Candhi in April elicited a letter from the Mohatma who read the coal line in the Darin early in Ma. "Dear Quide-Azero, I welcome your sit, rist on. Usings strong meeting face I line rate in the fall king through correspondence." If selected will be sent to you hand, it is our agree to my proposit that the Covernment will let you visit me."

I shtingown hard to a sponse was to "raise no obsection of Jimah wants to see Gandhi in a most og with good reason. I don't the Mariat may move being wholly palatable to Jimah "A viry was less with g to up over however remailing the success that he had refused to permit others, including C. R., to visit Gandhi.

Although Jinnah is a different case in some respects, refusal has hitherto been based on Gandhi's past behavior and if we once apandon principle that he is kept incommunicado because of his responsibility for robellion and must remain so until he disassociates himself from that policy. I feel that we may be driven out of our whole position, which is of course Gandhis object.

Use I were loath, moreover, to deliver Gandhi's letter to Jinnah. The matter was to be decided by the cabinet, but Churchill had just sailed off I Washall on the Queen Mary with Wavell for an Angio-US joint chiefs conference code-named Trident' to coordinate operations against Generaly Itah, and Japan. It was during this trip that Churchill felt he got to know Wavell well enough to believe he was the sort of man to replace Unfullyon.

Precisely how much time the entire British Was Cabinet devoted to this

single andehvered letter is incalculable but the secretary of state prepared an elaborate incompanion on the subject which was corrected to the cabillate trust to its first moeting on the question of Gandhis required to see I mah on that is, 1941. A second mentary also charten by attlee in Churchilis absence was heli on he samely beet also do Churchili of course, remained a fellographic touch with Americ disciplination to work debate on this itsurvation. The secretary of stat inflicts you red a most invochate cable to the uncertainty of the properties of the results of the cability of the second manning and ring that. Candit is letter should be go convair of The ball out no elidectronically to homese a so inditing the care the rest week with American good, so har a to write the man Carott Is have considered whe elianghian cross as Indian years. The bas been segges of our to that possition at careful inglet be eased if you an vited Jinnah to come and see you."

he had a rong to sent or I tooksed has take and carry or on the strategy of seeking to make in Langia that officerse and resource to position lemands and never, the ir times treep. The Pikistan slogar is gaining morgentian to indicate. Penalty governor roward the epa of May. There has an an emanter reading of escassion in the Press is to whether push sons ast fiel as aggest has De to a world that the Pumpal Cabinet is a League Main's. The Name of Marmont for all brades of the Muslim Leggie, has so ght to reprove the accasing by a Press statement that G. Six aid r Jim, I met has or as to an east the problemation betrathat more notice, nortexence by the Mission Language Penial politics and he expected." Skanders death in December of 1942 had left his Univestparty in, stry inder the control of a priceh is niger less experience. Misfin Juder Khizar II at Khan Tiwara 900 77. By each June "Hadu and gnation with I mish was reported with there are greater than ever mand, himself is will pleased so far as one can lidge and there is no quesfrom that he has seen bis stock up str. bigher " an ans most frank assessment of Jinnah, Linlithgow remarked.

I do not however think he wants a row with Government. and his threats do not cause me any sleepless nights! As I have consintently felt and said both to Zetland and to vou. Jurah world be quite as bad a master as Gandhi. But firmsh is not as strong a position as Gandhi and Congress, and he is never likely to be, in the near future, since he represents a minority, and a minority that cau only effectively hold its own with our assistance. Nor, of course, in his organisation anything like as deeprooted as as that of Compress, his organisation anything like as deeprooted as is that of Compress. He cause is personal variety which at his age he is not likely to shake off?

Churchill recommended Field Marshal Wavell to his cabinet in mid-June 1943 as indicated a veron Carberal Sir Claude Austhaliek of our followed Wavell In the Middle East command, was to succeed him as commander-in-chief of India. Labour ministers viewed Wavel, as a "safe" or "stopgap" viceros at a line when India needed measure and ignore day of matalikhi, and maginarion. Charchill's top process however was to in-d linda militarily at any cost. As Simbals in mission of second for use passion and a half Archie Wavell had proved lymsel, the good solutor, story a silent.

The one thing King George VI "complained" about to Wavell at a Buckinghan Palace lored was 41: "length at the Vicerox 6 and in uning the vicerox consignate to keep them shorter had build as a second form of the process of the second of the

I made visited Bassetton north and litheses the Leaguest the convincial conference "at the foot of a bill in a tastfully decorated panda, which included all the notables of the city numbered about 25,000 "a The Quards Azam "exhorted the Muslims of Balachistan to shake off their lethargy and march in line with their nation." He urged them to "Cive up your mutual jealousies and sectional interests and differences over small things, petty quarrels and tribal notions." The fellowing day he addressed this same conference after it had passed all the resolutions he advocated. Juniah reference for its pre-hattle plan for Pakistan, seeking first or say the modation of reforms and growth, later to pross his separated dominide. To the students in his andwines he cautioned conservatively. "Do not useful to the subject of an order catchwords. Concentrate your whole after no on order on. Cet equipped and qualify yourself for action.", The letter you are expripaged the brighter are your chances "its ancess".

I men as Jennah was speaking on the bleak but well fiel Worken border fittish India, famine darkened the disting plans of Rast Bergal. We cannot keep Bengal fiel (certainly we cannot assume the responsibility of rationing in Calcults or elsewhere) unless we can get function one fier gal from outside at once," So Governor John A. Herbert warned the vicerov and a conder how far he is right about the Bengat stuation. Limiting each of that setters margin. The vicerox remained, however less preoximited with the terrible Bengal femine, which had by their claimed over a conditional true than with his own fantasy fears of a fast-unto-death that Goodal might bounch in August.

I that returned to Bombay from his tour of Baluchstan on Friday, July 26 of a shaheal a rang hand of his safer on the afreenoor of Monday July 26 of anabeal a rang hand, has been trom I above Balis Sahir Mazangay cateror the Quandates have a Arenand stone house and appeared to July and secretar Mr. H. or a strevely of the great acader Just then Juniah enemal His secretary's office and asked who Baliq was and what he wanted. "I was very husy," Jinnah testified later in Bombay's high court.

My whole mad was on my correspondence and I was trying to get on of the room. I state I was about to beave the room, in the twinking of an oye the accused sprang on me and gave me a blow with I at a cruched fist on my left jaw. I naturally recled back a bit when he pulsed out a kinfe from his waist. . It was an open kinfe. I having it is self-defence made me put out my hand and catch his wrist with the result that the momentum of the blow was broken but a split of this the infer first named of the left side of my faw. I go a cut mean my chi and my coat was cut near the left-shoulder . . I also got a wound on my left finger 16.

much was chinan helped his secretary disarm the would-be assessin, a metly after which potice arrived.

The occused defended humself in court, reporting that he had belonged to the Muslim League in Labore from 1833-99 but had finally resigned to the Muslim League in Labore from 1833-99 but had finally resigned because "the League is Labore from 1833-99 but had finally resigned to complete the League of the missisted that he had gone to appeal to Juniah for work and selp, not to assessinate him, but was found guilty as charged of the interfer and north and sentenced to five years in jail. Sub-inspective And J Kadir Slic kib who had been put in charge of the investigation aims to after re Juniah so much in its aftermeth that he opted in join him to Pins stan. The juestion of conspiracy was closely studied, but no evidence a account a teas was ever clearly established. Though shaken by the violent attack and rather weakened by one of blood, Juniah survived the ordeal with no din notion of apirit or standing. "Don't worry," be wired close for the health of the Pinshak God Laro als right "4 His introducions escape one see one farm was viewed by many followers as evolution of divine outers on the Kestery title to viorated "A Day of Phathloggrang to God for

sparce the most precious life at the Sais-continent. "19 Jimah publicly appealed to friends and disciples to "remain calm and cool."

Lord Wavell's "secret" assessment of Jinnah in mid-September 1943 was that "It is hardly too much to ray that Jinnah as the Mushin League. He is a vain, shallow and ambitious man who would probably think the present time hopportune for any rapprochement with the Hindus "In The new vice-rox septemon of Gandhi was not much setter "Gardhi and Jinnah orr not i dectators... Candla because he has built himself up as a saint, and Jinnah orr not in discause there is nothed as has party who approaches I in in about y. Wavell viewed Pakistan as a "serious plan" but noted that "nobody" was "at a difinite about us boundaries Jin ah hold an insoned sain sites of such a lass with khizai I water at a lass his me which the P is abased, of number of the properties that be had rendered to not kind."

Ispahano urg of I must be conset. Care that that time of add a Leader on tell meeting there led by Nazimandon was too weak to consider both Mattern La data is against the League in list. Which was if conset, should be past for the favour trooped. Promissands and action during the conset which he programme of the Michard La data in during the conset which he programme of the Michard La data in the order. On the Michard La data in the conset of the

the present Manster working indep the present coust ution with its limitations cannot be saddled with the responsibility, and further the individual of the power after the term to are the read and the same the power after the term to a some some consideration. For the same that the sands are cong. and I carnes to appear to II s. Excellency the Vicercy Lord Wavell to leave no stone unturned and give no date bely and read to the people of Bergal of I all the resources that the Government of India can command. Similarly I appeal to the Churchill. . . This modelle, whoever is responsible for It, is the greatest blot on the British administration in this country, and it must be wiped off without delay.

Jamah addressed his Working Committee council in Delhi in mid-November insisting that "The constitution of the Madem League is the most decounter that could be framed. There is no Masho to whom the doors of the Modain League are not open. If the Mosalman are distal slicit with the header, surely the remedy like in their hand. They can remove his I they so desure by exercising their rights under the consultation of the at the they try to settle things by torce and viol use nothing out in indished would ensue." He was sensitive to the sort of barbed criticism that k observe and other Punjubs as well as Benga is underlying their minustrictive calculations. The defendent Nazimuddi's an about it Bengal as an indistance called too at to put of the reging to meet the flow of the first put to the reging to meet doing its in in the leader of the European party for saying it was "no use" in the telegral disaster.

The versual tens recrumnation when the coveragement is charge of a courte are abled soon to explain the sendant and that we are a like resistant which are to have discring or there does not explain the resistant of the country of the found out. Sorrey the country of the people, and that is a fact which nobody can deny... Supplies a grant of two index in the had lied or were lying overly week of starvation, let alone a few thousands, would church like Government by white to stand for 24 hours? And here we are called and could told about not indulging in recrimination. It is our materiums that we are living under a system of Government of the country of the co

If a v in I v is visible of new mainst too British government since w is viril vir assage of the low attacts. Not only were lienged to be viril or significances of the sames but Missin Louger viril to the viril or significance of the sames but Missin Louger viril ting are to the formine.

first session of the Miskin League that December. When Jinnah entered the bif Landy Lighted tent, he was greeted with thunderous shouts of Quad-Azam Zundahad" and "Compuseror of Congress Zandahad." He beser to speak at 10:50 r.m. on the eve of his sixty-seventh birthday and congoe extempore for 100 minutes in Engagh. He was forced to stop "four on the mice" by his racking hiberculair cough, suppermistically described as "a touch of cond" in the League's official report of that historic address shall be touch of cond" in the League's official report of that historic address shall be touch of cond" in the League's official report of that historic address shall be made as it as a shall be sufficially described as "Remembler due ossition of Museum India," Jinnah told his rapi andience "When it mad on it ask for anything. "That was the condition of Muslim Itoma seven years ago but to-day, the sick man has recovered from his doublem. He has not only causalescent but

he is in a position to move about. Now he has got so many suggestions and proposals to make so many disputes and so man, quarros to settle. It is go of sign, provided to is kept within hims. "" I man appears it this point to have forgotten he was talking about "Mishin hims" as the "sick man" and to have lapsed into a person of reverse. I get some suggestions which are splended ones and thoughtful ones and very good, too. I get complaints and perty quarro's which I do not like But anyhow t is a healthy sign. In one word, let me put it to you this way, as thankful to God that Mishin hidia is awake. I am thankful that Mushin hidia is taking interest in this go around it, not only in India, but throughout the world."

Jonah then announced his appointment of a three na saaqua. Ah Khan, Khaliquezzaman, and Husson Imore parliar fur licard as the first states of the League's nat opwide cand dit siter e whom He also proposed establishing a new Committee of Acinic to be chained by Nasvab is a Khan and convenied by I coat Al to us is equicational reoner at and social planning for Pakistan. This committee was to include the Named of Mandot, C. M. Sved. Hap Sachar Suit and Que M. sa une they were all for made appearted as prenale as December 27 1943. After the admess aded toput Asking me to migrate grand or as buthday Or and Azara and his sixter returned in the backed pains I had a glid for the larger's second sitting " scorted by two box games will discounwords. Grea uniting I Longite national generals to sweet January where after the attempt on his bit, and will allow wittel liver the crowd in ter and An estimated 2,000 of these Langue guards, sometimes called I he "state ase" and led to Sman Salery A. What of the Central Promise mare editerned Karasin Nazimudik, had proved from Coleptio It og the day and joy ed his zar and the presiders of Sona Assam, and the Nest Forther on chage be and the Quest s Azam, whose girlering to It one stood apart in front of all off, it seats on the days. It I will me proper Sardor Associate Khan prophesical sat "The day of reckoning is on a and when the a room Mr Jinnah comes to us to get out and fight for Palostan, we shall not falter "

The strain of his long address in Karachi left Jinnah "prostrato on his best analysis of the strain to be form a recalled the has the artist to sleep at will. A good night's rest gave him enough energy to cope with the dully crop of letters, requests and important problems for which solutions had to be found. He kept up this tempo — in spite of recurring fewer which enractated his bridge." Jinnah answered most letters requesting his presence in difficult to street of the country like one from Massian, by explaining "how difficult it is for the to go on aniring owing to ring out."

pressure of work and therefore at is not passible for me to make any commitment which I may not be able to Filk! The By manuscent public apparationes, while seeing to it that all his statements received maximum for a might be fastion. Jonana continued to function, presenting a relativelying rous façace to he world or else enveloping hains time cloak of such the sociation that it enhanced his charis not image by adding auras of its erround perpet a pressure of work to his personal fit had mastered in the management recharques of or egular, responsibility to trusted literionants more printingally than any of his Indian contemporaries.

By February 4044 Jinnah was back in Bombay. He urged the Muslim 5 in its learner ten in entire library of hard cork industry and persection in the population of Piece and could be lift. He aimed of his gges one aide a sense. I lift beauers that he should be suited the called the six leavest of Lines, as any horizontal to should be suited the called the most of Lines, as any horizontal to still the most of the open in gression at a sense to New Debit at the could of the most of the open gression at the same above the Wiselfs is identified to the constitution of all Azion was intraged by that bomba in a sense of the air and gress in at attempted legals and Companion of the source of the air and the constitution of the source of the same and the sam

Lord Wavell ike his predecessor has statted fishing in the Congress waters could I of rigon hope easist failed that the so has V error thinks that he would succeed where his predecessor had failed in landing a big fish or a number of small once sufficient for his pursus.

That has created deep resentment throughout Mas as in a

Nave sough advice from the governors as how best to proceed and Section of Centre Processes write to warm the viceror against augmenting junch. "I know that many hard things are said about Jinnah," we is noted, "But I often wonder where we should have been had not man foresteen how falal it would be to Muslem interests to support Congress. Acting the set of the set of the congress of monthat "what Jinnah, wast playing for" was nothing less than "to get leavatin without giving a quad pro quo to the Hindus. . . Government should make a mechalocal amounteement of their unconditional acceptance.

tance of Pakistan. Jurnah arguing that a premisente would be a waste of time and lead only to riots in the Ponjab and Bengal."44

Wavell was puzzled by Jinnah and bad to appreciation of his complex character or the torce of his will not the deep we springs of history it drew upon for sustemant. He saw only the surface cosmopoutan appearance he recalled mb. Les diagons preject and petty or trium of Jinnah's varity. "I gather that Jinnah regards me as an enemy of the Muslim League and is determined to be as much of a amisaine as he can the viceroy concessed this pursual deary in late March. He does not really represent solid sheads. Moslem opinion in fact. Ji himself is nardy in Musici, out, he can sway appraison and no one seems to have the character to opinion, the "March The secret was certainly not read to concede Pakistan" to such a man, "as expected with familine.

One of the things Was ill wanted to do was to talk to Gandhi but by the time Casullian again had senously deterorated. After his wife died that believery the Moureus opposited to have lost acrowd to sorvive the at this long determines. Every constant who examined him Bit is as well as Inchan neged an early resease. Wavel is ommended ancoul tional reuse to Amers in Max was sing that "serious difficulties would result if the airb aired in detention" and agree up with the medical opinions, that Canethi was unlikely I be as not vertactor as pouses again "at This assurthe helped wit Churchill's approva, in May 5, 1944 As soon as Candh. vis transported from the Aga khar's forma pamer where he had lim-11 d inpursure I to the nearby nouse of his old mend" Lady Thackeras he perked up and peed od money visitors. The Mahabha's swittered and a retrod Americal what Lord Peron had writt in an out of this at ters My nother relian has been dangerously all, she is now dangern sly weal." . Amery, can only hope that the is not going to be true of our old friend The "Cl rebill of course, was outraged at the news of Gandhi's signs of repurrected life and feared his "naked faker" had outfoxed him

With the weeks of his release Goodh spoke of scieng talks with Jinh, who had, however, gone to Kashmar to rest and breathe the cook, restration of Straing restrictions of the strategistr towernor Glancy to dismiss Shaukat for some "injustice which had come to g J 3 most conveniently thus helping strengther the Umonist Party. The Mus im League's Committee of Action voted to expel Khazar before the cutd of May For the remainder of the war, the Punjah could no longer - ret re be counted among the League's provincial idragas raine assets. " I shad S kantar pact was final a dead G anes and Wave felt justs "worried about the possible activities of the Muslim League National Counds" in the Puntab, and the viceroy wrote "we shall have to take a and with Jamab to prevent command another to June Knizar A raid air Janah was "importing into the P apab a number of Maulvis I combit and Provinces to agreete against the Unionest Covernment on million I mes " Khizar asked the vierroy to keep "these people out and I won I tak like to keep Junia's and other programers. Musin's leaders or that the Punjah too." Waved liked Khizar very much but recognized he up to strong this actor and mount odd that these big for about mirth a norld be so dominated by a down-country lawyer like Junah." bore some and of Januar glading y covered the viceros a materially a understand his nature or true power

itted Provinces governor Sir Maurice Hallett, who considered Gandhi is an expectation of makes. Cash and Wavell against greating the Marina of the receive. The secrets was one rush to see either Cardhi. I make a great great was to be rether Cardhi. I make great great is seen but to see either Cardhi. I make great dead a saw one to the seep me hat no progress was possible to the congress of the secret great grea

Ir the was a no rush to believe C. R.'s assurances of Gardhi's "acception however and awarted direct word from his old adversary, who finally wrote (the original was a Gu arati) on July 17, 1944.

the speculation as to the Manatina's new position.

brother Jirnah

There was now when I could induce you to speak in the mothertargue T slay I take courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was m jail I have not written to you since my release. But today my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

Jimah rephed from Sr.nagar on the eve of his departure from Kashmar auforiting. Mr. Candhi' that he would be 'g ad to receive you a, my! use n Box say or ny (et.a.), which was probably be about the indust of August "4. The War Cabituet was brought not the parties in Gandhux receiv moves" with a pseudo-chief deby Amery to his outsy colleagues. Church'll was beside binused wall form at to. It is a got and the maxime of yet another events, angulating," with the inthe old not Ver S. v. rian fooder of the Hundy Mahasabha and the gunt to Gandhi's fature assassin was openly open at the Mahasabha and the gunt to Gandhi's fature assassin was openly open at the Mahasabha and the gunt to Gandhi's fature assassin was openly open at the Mahasabha and the grant to Gandhi's fature assassin was openly open at the Mahasabha and the grant of Gandhi's fature assassin was openly open at the Mahasabha and the garantee openly of union of India their fatuerland and holyland."

The Maskins League council net is Lahoze or J. Iv. 30, 1944. Juniah presided and reported on the current state of politic divelopments concerning C. R. s. "torrain and the proposed so note by was prepared to concerd nothing to accord nothing on for the net startheasting meetings will his old dy saws. The League's entered gave to moreomoris support and Quadri-Azani concluded that bired meeting with the procuse that "Insha Allah, Pakistan is coming."

The tasks started in September 9: Candin and I much posed with broad singles on the veranda of Japan's Malagar II, house better they went inside for three and a quarter hours of prevate and secre discussion. Can jobs laws or that I was, I mal kept is record if their to did one Gandhi reported is version of the first days talk to C. R., colling the meeting in test of on patience and noting. I am amazed at my own patience. Howover it was a friendly talk." He then informed C. R. of Jinuah's "contempt or your Formula ... I as contemp, for you," which Candhi called "stagger ng He says you have accepted his demand and so should I I said, 'I Flors Ha & or of and on can call (Pasistan J voc like He talked of the Labore Resolution. . " Candhi also reported that Junah told him that if he conceded Pakistan he stood ready to "go to jail" or even "face bullets. . . He wants Pakistan now, not after independence. We will have independence for Pakistan and Hindustan, he said 'We should come to an agreement and then go to the Government and ask them to accept it, force them to accept our solution . The Mushus want Pakistan The Laugue represents the Muslims and it would reparation. "10

Thuir second meeting proved no more fruitful than the first, though Candll, reported to C. R. that Jinnah "drew a very alburing picture of the Convernment of Paustan. It would be a perfect democracy "at Candhi then it is a very ded Jinnah of how often he had said "tiemocracy did not uset Indian conditions," but Jinnah insisted "that was with regard to the secondary of temocracy. The press corps wated for Jinnah and Candhi as they contend from that morning session, asking "Anything low us?" Candhi replies. "I have nothing a session, asking "Anything low us?" Candhi replies. "I have nothing a session, asking "Anything low us?" Candhi replies. "I have nothing a session our faces except hope and nothing here if you have read anything in our faces except hope and nothing here is the morning?" Jannah is response was "Why bother "del

I was send to this to a me titlety if the tyles. He indenstood the Midhatma's game too well, writing curtly on September 13:

Door Mr. Gandh: When you arrived here on the marning of September 12 to rearme our tasks you were good enough to inform me that you has not had time to attend to my letter of September 11. We met again today without having received your reply, and 1 am still walting for it. Please, therefore, let me have your reply as soon as possible with regard to the various points mentioned in my letter . . Yours sincerely M. A. Junah.

In I now were on Sentember 14 Lethat letter it was the first time he me, written the word Pakistan out of quotation marks, or in any sense of the next with the ceres or and the nak have accounted Jernah to high he was making a positive impact on the Mahatma's mand. At any man and wrote a lengthy, rather cordial reply immediately that afternoon

Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim gover ment will represent all parties. . . I can quite understand that when the moment arrives certain things may follow, but before we can don, with this formula in a satisfactory manner I repeat again that, as it a your formula, you should give me a rough idea of the provisional interim government that you contemplate and of your conception.

Gaudh's letter to "Dear Qualif-e-Azam" the following day began by what a for the moment I have abunted the Rajaji Formula and with your amount are am approving my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League." Then he went on to pick that Lahore resolution apart argaing "the first fution itself makes no reference to the two mittons theory," wolch was, in any event "wholey quirent. I find no parallel in

history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of facing, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large and of her children. The So much then for the Maharman reading as to recognize Passistant at had asted just one da. Candhis true feelings about that absert indea now came journal orth, and her acidit in pact on Januah's momentary bope of reaching a settlement may well be imagined.

It is my duty to explain the Labore resolution to you today and persmall you to acc at 1" Junish reply diewo days later. "I have successfully a mye ted non-Masha India is no small number and also a sarge indy if tore mers, and of can convert on exercising as you do to rainder a infinone over thirdy halia, I will be no small assistance in the ligansh upond. however that much of Gand'r's letter was 'a disquisition in her than genome seeing is fication, and recommended o Gend . Aut ar of books richding one watter is the intraducle leaner or B. R. Ambedk in We make a and hold that Misters and Hindus are two major nations by s deb tion or test of a nation. Jinnah said recer ing the arguments be al mate is 1940 in his Labore nesid and bloom to the reng line then concluded. "By all canons of international law we are a nation. . . . to pards our final paragraph of it is up to Jean that you represent noand what tucket I am conviered but the a westare not usy * Virshoos left of the rest of India Les - the gavesion of India as proposed he Labore resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your pulses and programme in which you have persisted that has been the pranand the tor of the remark the whole of India and of misery and agradanon if the people to which you refer and which I de don no less into any C 480 30

Due that again the next day but the much outed talks had brought here no closer Nations was resolved and no formula or dge, the overseeiing gulf between them. The more I think about the two-nation the the more planning it appears to be," wrote the Mahatma to his "Dear to the normalized there had no continued the provide admitted there had no to be about a treated that Once the provide admitted there had no to be about a treated that Once the provide admitted there had no to be a line of continued to be a soluted there had no not seen to send a second of the decrease of the normalized that was the first published to the decrease of the particle of the send of the treated that and the tree normalized many had been all blinial as he called India and its occasio "dependented" Rabount Ali's latest pamphilet, "The Millat and Her Ten Nationa" was published from his All-Dinial Mills ("Referedous Nationa"). Movement head quarters at 16 Montague Road in Cambridge on June 10, 1944, and reist of 1 March 12, 1946. Radmit Ali's (evertub brain conceived of such "national" as Subdiquinan, Faringinian, Handersean, Mutundan, and Maphistan,

when would respectively represent the Muslims of Central India Bihar and Orissa, Haddistan, Rajistan, and Southern India.

Janah had nothing to no with Rahmat An or his proliferating plans for his had been decreased that mere acquired that we matter that the two-nation theory or the give credence to such ten nation raidness Id fell on September 23 in 1944 and the "summit" was all but over "In deference to your wishes," Jinnah wrote Candh, that boliday, "I tail very flut a this class, and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence, to convert you, but unfortunately it seems I have I the Candh agrees. Still as used [mak to give me in writing" what precisely y "you would want me to put my signature to."

"It is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representon any and of the clother ourself with representative expant and are asserted that hard "There wrote back hoson can "We stand on as I has also say said the lists and traffar and principles embaded in the Labore resolution of March 1940. Expend to you once more to revise your problem of any construction of this subcontinuous and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities."

if the propies of finding abmand that you should race resulties.

Caroth answered this with his longest stride toward Jinnah and the lengtue, and it seemed to indicate a change of beart on the Mahamar's part of the Later and the process it with a most disdardal hautent of the Later resources, . . You do not accept that the Muslims of India are a notion. . . You do not accept that the Muslims have an inherent right of self-determination. . You do not accept that the Pakistan is compared it with a serial and north cast, upractical provinces.

A real of our corres a control descriptions of had that the question of a special control of the state of the

Jurish 4ld but however with to slam the door absolutely on Tunrepre-

sentative Gandhi's naked toes. He argued, therefore, at the end of his angry letter of September 25: "But now you have ... made a new proposal of your own on your own basis ... and it is difficult to deal with it may further, unless it comes from you in your representative capacity. Why not then accept the fundamentas of the Lahor resolution and proceed to settle details?" Candhi requeed by asking Jinnah "to think fifty limes before throwing awa in offer which has been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony."

I man responded by rejecting all Gandh's overtures, incl. ding his appeals to address the League council or open session, could explain in that contain member or delegate is entitled to participate in the decorations of the meeting of the Council or in the open session respectively. Besides, it is a most extraordinary and imprecedented suggestion to make However, I thank you for your advice. I regret I have failed to convince you and convert you, as I was hopeful of doing so. **M*

I contest I am unable to independ your possistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the Formula presented to you by me in my letter of the 24th as well as the Formula pessitent to sail or large give you virially what a verbook of other amone Resolution. Candle pessives it his final letter to Junalian September 28. You will not a pessive it his final letter to Junalian September 28. You will not so you from a who contains the sail while I have been controlling that the sex will find as it who is the give hold to do not as it stands in the Resolution and write the out to our mutual satisfaction." The sail of the problem to the Resolution and write the out to our mutual satisfaction." The sail of the problem to the Resolution and write the out to our mutual satisfaction."

"The Canetr I can be like are denging or and the lat at remore a that the law excess down." We are I reported to Amer. "Canche is going to Mar Ha for his birthdar to receive the fram collected in more of his are and some proper think that a statement about his assession, with him a will be rease from Murida." "I peak in each he or is that ay I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandhi. . . . Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not feel embittered and we trust that this is not the final end of our effort." "I Gandhi addressed in larger press corps at Birla House insisting.

The brenkdown is only so-called. It is an adjournment state die Earling in must now talk to the public and put our viewpoints before them... My experience of the previous three weeks confirms me in the view that the presence of a third power hinders the solution. A mind enslaved cannot act as if it was free... The chief thing is for the Press and the public to avoid partisuship and butterness. **

Asked about his own luture plans, to the processed to "act as my inner vace tells me." The next day Condit told the News Cheonele to don: buy

(1) be heyer "Mr Jinnah is sincere but I think he is suffering from halli citation when he imagines that an unnatural division of India could bring either happiness or prospenty to the people concerned."

Wavel, confessed to his journal, "I must say I expected something better, ... The two great mountains have met and not even a rideculous me use has emerged. This surery must blast Gandhi's reputation as a leader forms that an easy task, he merely had to keep on telling Gandhi he was I lkry notices, which was true, and he did so rather rudely, without the control of the was nesses of his own position or define his last a live was a suppose though a rease his pletting with his followers, but I cannot add to his reputation with reasonable men."

16

Simla (1944-45)

As late as October 1944. Wavell found of "difficult in believe that joinals who whatever los faults, is a logals into loger on a sourcement of the two nations there so Pakistan seemed winder has town less one to more the logarithms and the sound that the vicers so had almost as used from one of the logarithms as defended in taking for almost advocates if it is made "It take on, our examples." Wavell noted in his extension of American that care is not almost a sound or out the very aide winder of the late of the logarithms which he has not worked out." As for American or the relief in the late of the

Sir Francis Mudle, Home member of the viceroy's executive council, not with impaly to New Delhi of Normber 24 1944, with the viceroy's seem story and found and treating and silkatest Jutian said. In Musle, viceroid a respective for the traps procedure for seeding the towerons to toth a considerable for seeding and said that he was as in 1946 prepared to take part in a Coalition Covernment at the Centre. The did not go into details about the relative strengths of Hindus and Muslems, but made it that the latter of the Matisan he are 1 a Congress where the same He was post prepared to co-operate even if the Congress refused to do so. We well coghtly suspected that "Junah may have got more out of Mudle than he gave awas hunself."

Jonah uset with Wavell on December 8, and the viceray found him onthe bothcoming and friendly. He said that hada had never been a mitted nation and never could be furded unity was only a Briesth creation and work of holds under one Native Gaver, near word have use I storical

parallel It was it possible from a practical point of view at had here fixed for the ast 30 years and had completed frame? The viceros argued from a practical joint of view and the "unity of India" irongot about Ly British rule ought to be maintained, at least for security and economic purposes.

b man becommer 944. Beog as sext governor Richard G Castre had taken with energh leaders in lawuita to conclude that Pakistan was more , matter of polica, shful thirking than a potentil relation Casis, hopen and M. Jianan wil compromise before Pakister datas a to a teger that he is now give He believed it are ld be eas, to wear? man B ugal Mart ns "own from the Pakistan dees" but was sens her to the risk of any of s being active to the a part san house wrote Wavell, seek ing viceregal approva. "The have that it he M is als to do be get to realise that he and sum of Creater Cale to be bakistan a count, etc rapide in I set the idea of Egyptor Pak's air would receive a prest took " ha zimild sconing of Eastern Pladston" was many will rain to croser to the pieture of a adult immonorals sover go state" such as to aid to doed a neight to singles at after 171 For New year and subraward s are las north mer league V shars according to all last the Rengari st to at "I are not. I alway in ed nor 4 he one in which this lates and relation would be a some and share the responsibility of the business at Covernment and all else is approximate peoplett as to their mannhees."

Polistan a rate to condition suspicion representendo at a the maio obstocie to constructive thinking," Wavell replied

I do not believe that Pakistan will work. It creates new intority problems quite as bad as rhose we have now, and the Pakistan Shate or States would be economically unsound. On the other hand, like all comotional ideas that have not been properly thought out, it throws on opposition. Some of the about Muslims may regard it is a bargaining counter but for the mass of the Muslim League it is a real possibility and has a very strong sentimental appeal. We connot openly demance Pakistan until we have something attractive to offer in its slace.

Jimah remained in New Dollit through mid-December, then returned to hom a critical and a discount of the latter stress of any sort are left for Karachi immediately afterward. The Muslim chamber of coronorce in the city of his forth welcomed him with a banquest on December 27 1944. There he arged the "Ihadiin commercial community to but no aid doing," remind ig them that "the recommit position was one of the atrongen pid are of a nation.

You have got in the Pakislan areas an

enormous field and enormous scope is you only sook around if only you will see them property and seize them." He had go is to Sind to putch up provential disputes between League premier Sir Chuiani Hassa n H davafullah and Mr. C. M. Sved disputes which had almost deposed the League's manistry. It was more a quest-up of a personal sower strength then ideale cas disputes but Jamah's resence was required to settle arguments ever manistry appointments and candidates for coelections. The round of contentions most ogs in Sun, left mill exhausten. Buck in Bombay onely in January Quant's Azar assent a statement on Suic concerning that "It is for the people of Sind now to build up in organisation as harmony coration and mt "15 Jamah as ted Almedahad n. mac Jaman and adfreezed the Gapara Miss's a Educational Corners a that was attended by il mainly of young Mislans from a over the Northwest. I was roosed ene la player and a romet or told them. But I thouse myself and forces and a strength and with from part or day they on and take ited and now the sal ation was different. As president of he have done Mus-I I sugge be find some a lines to a entire and barely any time to accupt invitations. We have reached a stage when we must direct and all at so har topors for the propose of some a my racine scheme the establishment and a low many plat if it properly "A new sension was born had one mout percel that Ec yeahon's a metter of I fe and death to our nation."

A montes tener even in India's best weather left inn. np. evensh, nor toe weak to attend the solud fed Leugus comac i et ing fat was to fax seen left in New 2db lote i be man. He was obliged be concell in transfer grouphout left near and March, may lengt schediled occling with Wavell, and retreated behind the walls of his Malabar Hill cite seet, in me and seep in earls. The sieer was teld in his to it discusses an analysis of picture are larger and the significant and the seet of the first seed of March lee was still dictating short letters such as this

I regret to inform you that it is not possible for me to indertake any public engagement for some time as I am ordered strictly to have complete rest... This breakdown was a senous warning to me and my doctw's advice is that in no circumstances am I to depart from what he coosiders complete rest.¹⁶

Candla also suffered a physical relapse in January 1945, and with both of these agong fitans on their backs, the yourger leaders of Congress and the League hoped to fashion a new formula of pritical settlement. Blue lathus Desar, the adopt Congress seader or the Control Log chittee Assembly and Linquist Ali Khan supposedly agreed upon that formula? for an

"Inform Government at Centre" whereby the League and Congress wor deach choose and control 40 porcent of the cabinet, and each the remaining 20 percent for 5 kbs and introductions. Brish Wasel and his secretary for a case-content would remain Brish Wasel and his secretary for Francisch were both assured by Desai that Jimpat and Gandhi "apprecied" of this formula, but it remains unclear whether or not Laquat over actually discussed the matter with Jimpah.

The Less Literate forms a was however considered cafficiently in portait one ripe" to be argiver three there by Britain. War Call net which ordered Wavell to retrain from computing binneds to any new politica. "In age," I is "strongly not not accounting binneds to any new politica, "In age," I is "strongly not not account on a way reported to have said be knew nothing of Desait scheme. "Before the end of January is that, Jimah or her it woo crated Press that "There is due to be in a notification of the part which has been any large tracks that the has take taker place between Naw strongly in a new with allowing the hast taker taker place between Naw strongly in a part of that he could go are after that a not January is because if the head of great protein and a part of the could go are after that a not January is because the part.

While West I Amers and the cannot findled Bengal and India contributed in serio from atomic our and bureaugratic incompetence that ringed analysis across the and Governor Cases across well exist the facility of the British are restration in his March. 1945 letter to the view roy, concluding that

In Bengal at least after a cent is and a half of British one we can point to no achievement worth the name in any direction. British admit scathon as been on the moreover possible expenditure of put a noneye very on taxat m and no expenditure of long memorys for developmental purposes. The result has been a pirchbrick policy under when the resources and potentialities of Benga, have not been developed... a sufficiently system of red tape has a throtteed initiative, and has created in the minds of the services from whom plans or gift to have been forthcorning a sense of firstration and stufficiently as

Despite the eigency and wasdom at closes cents at notifing was do a about the problems be noted. Warvell never so much as answered his letter Before the end of Murch, Nazimirdali's infinitely lost a vote of confidence in Calcutto, and Castey took direct control over the province under Section 93 of its Cover ment of India Act of 1835.

In mid-March the Muslim League's ministry in the North-West Frontier Province under Aurangzen Khan also lost a vote of confidence and gover nor Six George C manigham barned to Congress leader. Dr. Khai, Sal L. o. ask if he wanted to try forming a government with ministers drawn from his own party A "sealed letter" was reportedly sent by Gandhi from his Wardba ashram to the frontier apparently instructing khan Sala 1 is cept the governor's invitation." For the first time in over five years, after all the Congress one reschad regued to 939, the Congress and the returned to provincia responsibility-in Peshawa. Janual was post personal track made it impossible for in to journey to be printed Se end months earner he had been requisted a goody it came to be and fact it as League strife to me as he had no Soud Tox my to you I to many that you have to put your house in order," Quaid-i-Azam had wroten League president In A i in December 1914. The Con- is dont - i st to help and guide, but the root is in the Province itself, and it is thereforming to you as it works blosser for the earlier and establish so along accorner bose was independed and create on the real and are due amongo our people " I'me advice et ane nor, o a er a the as that brought the League monster to a knew long in he that less handarf event ter Campiess Mps n. s. Ter project in A. Cu. in a copted after breating away at the figure of the party of the com wirls I make declarated in his Pakistan Da miss in to it in a that March 23.

It is not possible to be even the law Mosa, a solution is a subjected self-respect and an iota of peide left in him, can tolerate a Ministry to a Muslim insports province, which takes order from end is subject to the control of Mr. Gandhi at Savigram or the Congress who are deadly opponent [sic] to all Muslim aspirations and their national demand.

Jinnah's same Pakistan Day message contained many images of Elizasi and warnings against conspiratorial "powers," hadden "freetgues," and empending doma, all of which could be overcome only through Mus in a may all and with faith in God.

I see powers working around us and nor enemies are active in t let us go forward undanated fearkes, without faltering. I have my finger on the pulse of Muslem India, and I feel confident that an exercise of Musleman will stand as one man at any critical monitor and I not be set to the set of the set of the pulse of the pulse. I have been all the pulses of the pulse of powers at the pulse of the pulse of the pulse of the pulse. I hadron as without property of the pulse of the pulse

Wavell flew out of Delhi on March 20 and arrived in London three days ater Amery had suggested "a small dinner party at 10 Downing Street" to Churchi to "welcome" his viceroy bome, but the prime minister coldly re-We needing with him has softer be purch officia. Addressing Il Is a Cabinot's India committee charged by Atthe Wavell requisited It wire o choose his executive offence from annuag In has postical leadish it are nig than there was a steady point a deteriorated and it worsenand the monthstrative one die general position in the reported that Canill at seventy five was "a fairly sick man, who according to some reports or on bink consecuted for a few minutes" Wave 1 adject "borndes or of he Maxim League more need an that I had been "reporting on the change of government in the North-West Frontier and the League met. s 4.5 id. Assist and the Phajab He also ploreted the cab net that Ithnan "was not very fit, though his brain was as active as ever." And since 1 . A wastel and be could tot say how helpe's more was week ng but thought he was still bitter and . . . in the Congress he probably in a same the port call Lett War g but not the such strial specifican who has Congress drew its financial support."36

The war in Europe ended and Churchid's government resigned before Burt for or fire and purity or opport Way and India What's eres they are for a perilous voyagel" the fixed, frustrated viceroy contona a far arms " Ware I was however granted permission to convene a conference of "Indian leaders" to help him form a new executive come I that "would represent the main communities and would include es in proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems."36 He returned to New De'b on June 7, 1945, and informed his current council of the impending hanges. Al jost all of the Indian members of the council called upon the vierroy to make an immediate declaration of "complete dominion status" for Ind a

"The is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settleen," the viceroy announced in his New Delhi broadcast on June 14. II a Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian partes would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal uwere witch is the main stumbing-block, but this hope has not been ful-Albed "10 Mer thers of the Congress Working Committee were all released tom represention. In a press statement on the forthcoming conference, Garidh, called the term "Caste Hir dus" offensive, inaccurate, and opposed to he "Madern condenses in Hindaston", to abolish all easte distincions," It make tat all renetion was reflected in Dorcus comment that the "Lauge" on ld no participate to Jun, Exocutive Council in which con-Lengue Manlenn were meladed "in

Wavell reserved a suite for Jinnah at Simla's Cecil Hotel, inviting him to the viceregal lodge for a presau meeting on the evering of June 94 before the scheduled official opening sess, in of the 5 mla conference, he next morning, Irmali accepted he myitation but sug, seed a two weeks postponement of the conference to give him time to commit his Wirking Committee on the "ciar-fications" he hoped to receive from the vicerov concernng conterence proposals during their private meeting. Water relised to be frawn allo any such regonations insisting that it is conference had to start without delay

"Gandhi and Janah are behaving like very tem recamental prima donnas" Warell informed his journa in rid Jine "and are after a publishing tas teregrams is the Press betwee I even receive them Car it at leas ad the ourtes to ask whether I agreed o rable cation to The chorny was regroung to record to that his so his to topes for a soft ement were less reasste than he had secred Brit his a most they were. Or June 24, Wavelinier in h Congress presid of And whose much into with Candhi all and it was less fine conversation with he Mala the what was after sages and discurses out or the whole gave to blessing to the proposals "I As Came it left the vice reg I loslye Jo. I arrived a spen are hour and a half above with the vicer vices for all time much more direct than Candhi, but whose manners are far worse."10

for a Water's officially upsized the Smalls conference at \$1.00 A.M. Of Jun 23. 945 Tweeza two port of leadure of India assembled in the posh from of the vicegal lodge. Price that Azad spoke for Cingress, \$1055 is to rangement in character. Jinnali spoke next for he bright and and trade points are largely area of a treatmental proposals" eading than the short to address I well exclusive and those "On the dure of the Congress party a said that there was nothing in the proposals to take I as a canad anal o gamesation. Wa rel reported to Amera I is · = interjected here that Congress represented only Hindus, a statement to ... I ... Khan Sahib took vehement objection. I remarked that Congress repseem to meet as and both Congress and Jeroth new new ms 30 Jun on hower to sell on the letter that first meeting adjointness insisting the League would "not agree to any constitution except on the fundamental or plant Pakista. The Longie in the west and the argued mineds ate concession of Pakistan as a prior condition to any cooperation, yet he was willing to participate in this sort of conference thanks to his faith in the "Vicerov's sincerity" and his helief that "the British Covernment and people really wished to give a fair deal to British India." Wavel, felt much relieved and concluded that night that his "Conference has got away to a reasonably good start "

On the morning of June 29 the conference reconvened and the viceroviasked all parts, enders to send him panels of names of candidates for his new council Azal read by agreed. Lat Junuals retured, arguing that he could not submit any 1s defore consulting as Working Committee, and so the conference adjourned until July 14.

Waved species in more and a harriging with Jinnah on the evening of Jith 8, which left is where we request he reported. He was also only in a high state of nervous bension, and said to me more than once; I am at the end of neverties, he has said I ask you not to wrock the League. He is also said I ask you not to wrock the League. He is always and introduced the same, and in a range of and introduced the same, and in a range of a conference and yet will not go or another of his class to represent a Mostle so that the one of their meeting Jinnah at II refused to ham (your a stocand lates that Wave I had requested for his commit at left houself of an hour ly tree had a effect from the vier root and processes what it was be as ted. That letter must be next day and 21 and placed the ore his Working Committee on July 9, 1945.

I fully appreciate your difficulties, but rogret that I am unable to give you the guarantee you wish, i.e., that all the Muslim members of the proposed lew Cornerl studious search by members of the Muslim League. I have to attempt to form an Executive Council representative, competent, and generally acceptable. It will help me greatly from will let me have names. I alseed for eight, but will certainly accept five if you do not wish to send more.

"The Carm in their after giving its very caseful consideration to the matter" Jurish mp — I the same way "desires me to star that it regions very runs to that had not the four tast more in native to give the assurance that all the Mustim League the Committee considers this as one of the trindamenta paint gless and in the circumstances I region I am not in a position to send the names fundamenta principles."

The vicero remained equally resolved no, to "give way not this point" and which Amery that night to propose his own list of new council members, four of whom were to be Muslim League members (Liaquat Ali, Khaliquazzaman, Nazimuddin and Eassak Sait, and the fifth, a Muslim andlord from the Punjab, Sir Muhammud Nawaz Khan. The five "Caste Hindus" were to have been behive, Patel, Rajendra Prusid. Dr. M. S. Ancy, and S.r. B. N. Rat. Muster Tara Singh was in represent the Sikhs, and Dr. Ambidisate and Murawam Pala, the Sikhsualind Castes (Unimorbables).

Dr Join Matthai of Madras University later Nehrus private secretary was to have been the council's sole Indian Christian, thus bringing the total to sixteen with the vicercy and his commander-in-chief.

The Bi use causet, soing rather periodect "" as ansisted that Wave I stall Jurial first and self-aim the names of the Musican memoers be promoted to propose and to "first personant Jurial" to put forward those names as to specify's last Good solder that he was. Wavell not with Jurial names in Joy, 11 many again to after his position. He retused even to discuss to not it is to could be given the a solute right to select all Musicans and some parameter that any decrease which he Musicas of used at Counce could be passed by a twistoris majority invarie kine of council and so one is that these conditions were entirely unacceptable. Wavel recorded as the interview and 1.2. The vectors are found as hour after an told at the interview could be some for the following the first of the Musican Jurial was defined as the following the first of the Musican point of view, since they were irreconcilable. The training Musican point of view, since they were irreconcilable.

The latter failure of Wavell's Simla conference served only to undorwers the obtains to economical distinct that it is an edicate as key poor in the many Beatsh offs ask expressed that this to have want or a normalist power service the League lost his president positions on the latter power service in the control of the service service in a Mash is serves the latter of the control of the conference of the latter than the state of the conference of the conference of the control of the service when the service and the conference of the conference o

to my efforts to my laster inderstanding to veer a finited and have shown how wide is the gulf," noted the weary Wavell Wildow have have more good or ten by the organization of the right final mane a fact or each finite not brong oil, the united an issue," and his final massessment of the Quad-s-Azam was, "narrow and arrogant is actuated mainly by fear and distruct of the Congress constitutionally incapable of friendly cooperation with the other purty "as

Amery shrewdly reminded Wavell that thanks to Simla, the Congress leaders had, once again, been "brought right up against the lact that a in the Muslim League and not you or I who stand in the way of their apparations—bey must now either acquiresce in Pakistar, or realise that they have a schow or other to win over Muslim support agains—mak, and that a mere facade of taine Congress Muslims does not help them "8". The test of state suggested holding electhon that writer and argued diffusion no incustos foliows that Jinuah will sweep the board in the Muslim Provinces.—, On the other hand if he really loss, then his char it at the Muslim members should all be members of the League voild int as well.

or resis od. Amery himself had, however just fought and jost his last elecnor campaign. Britain's postwar Labour landside brought Attlee and his
not to lower with a resounding majority of 200 n the House of Coms. When the viceror learner, that his new master in Whitehall was to
be faire Pethick Lawrence. 1872, 361 1's no all reaction was to "fear he
have fixed and old fashioned", eas derived mainly from Coopiess conties. I That very day in early Angust of 1945, however a more avesome
to some at Heroshima managerates an age that was to accelerate the pace
of 1 in langing World War II to a entity within the week and hustling
that his pout of its deep ruts of stately hureaucratic stagnation.

17

Quetta and Peshawar (1945-46)

The attermath of the Sunia conference debacle was a governors meeting in New Delbero by Wasel and Wing at death, here not public, nove A precelections, most agreed, whe now may red but the total surverand Cancy argo divigorously against any elections to un reconstructions ang emberous could be called a crosse the solerand patts s of Pekistim. Unics the Missan Longue could be steered away to a the or di version it e distant he transfed there wors I were war in his Prom, and me - hate Central existions might consolictors the Missley Long south to a " Cares leared that Punja. Mislens would vote on what might appear to them supply as a rengioner pane and his concerns reserved & cour's deepest cor hepsions as . Bengal's gravemor on excel that now of air whole Mr was come despite a what Askistan mount In the last resur they ta vife, back on larged eight and hat juna was sat sfier, hat Pay that was econe ments sound therefore it must be so. 2 Casey thought the an important sctor will be world diffial I night in a Beaution or co and argued that the Takistan idea might go to pieces without har

"There are only two major parties in this country." Jinnah insisted, restating Nehrus famous 1937 formula in his first public pronouncement in the large free of the base that the Candb was the Ganth Large free of the base that the Candb was the recognised before one the great send are set the exercit of the other. The British culled them parties, but in fact they are two major nations." No other formula would satisfy him. A quarter of a century after his public humbation at Naggar he had risen from the dust of agrooming to stank erect deather door proclaiming to the world the Mr. Candb was no better that I famal, merely his opposite musber in a different "major nation." Jin-

nab seemed or to obsessed with Gandhi and his behavior, manutely examining and questioning all facets of his activity

When it suits him, he represents nobody, he can talk in individual capacity, he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress, he undertakes fast to deed the poatra. Insular he red cas himself to zero and consults his inner volte, yet when it suits him, he is the supreme dictator of the Congress! He thules he represents whole of India. Mr Gandhi is an enigma.

How can we come to a settlement with him he here was se much venous a destiness against for Miskins and the Miskin

Many of the number lent fears processes no punishs usual then were by green as see. In thoughts of Gardh, the whom he assumed a new min bitationess, and what to Junal were the two most two most of peckers. The hast of down homeone were rage and buy of the ligators and seasy, him whicher a new bodge is the order and our interesting total right of which were the seasy of a contemperature ground at more varieties to his sensitively of each and use the first tender of the best of defighing it is as lead at leasy a smaller parts nation than to two in the shadow of varieties and enough."

To fill the League's creation war cleest. Jionah spoke agoin in Aug ist a bis home created and a line a mon" and warning had then sook to the Bit and his operation the ask for them and hence tree resort to literating and varying actions the ask for them and hence tree resort to literating and varying actions. But oncernment But we camer agree to a arrangement, which means freedom for Hindus and establishment of Thada Baj' and a svery for the Muslims." His listeners donated over 300,000 rupees that day, funds which Jimpah called the League's "silver bullets."

"The Labour Party is, of course, both by its convictions and by its public atterances, commuted to do its atmost of rgunat in the Labour Party is the India problem," weote Pethick-Lawrence to Wovell in his first weekly letter. "I feel sure that my coaleagues will welcome your proposal to hold elections, which I am supporting to them in a paper which should be considered within the next few days." The new secretary of state was "greatly attracted" to Indian thought and contains, be had visited lights with his sul-

fragette wife in 1928-27 served as a member of the Round Table conference in 1931, and was the most empathetic master of the India Office to Indian national aspirations since Montagu or Morley.

Glaner did his best to derai, orly elections, leaving Pakistan yet finding that throughout the Mish districts of the Puntah since the Simla conference I much stack has been standing very high He has been bailed I must neess that a an gravely perturbed as the champion of Issuer show the situation because there is a very seen is danger of the elections 1 ng feaght se far as Musieus are concerned, on an entire o fase s The reinformed Muslin will be told that the question he is called on to answer at the polisiss. Are youn true behaver in an infidel and I Pakistan becomes an aminen reality we shall be heads. straight for blood-s it does a wide scale non-Mushims espicially Sikhs, and builting they will not suffer peacefully to a Covernment that is alled Miharmadan Raj " No Fr a samen so creasly foresaw the reactful inglic diens of the partition of he Pumph yet Gausey's vince the interned beded to ech a the ranked corridors + Wirtemi'l

On Sugar 20 145 Wavel was not all some or considerion with he en cal not and amfore d to annumer that it ions would be held In suggest of an India auring the next cold weether." Bet ire leaving I he he species sent Petick I was no les amounts gradysis if the I lister prob to first a dair og that a lat Changy had writter about the I all add not tien window where up alve to Broga. "but the laman said him he terms a condithe who were the rivers a tac Pa gab 1.1 we are veet a worl, light rather than see their He Land pass a speciment Mid-rate" He there, it disc seeming paralox that pant for the Pakistan idea was much stronge among Muslims in Ma a superit or a new that so the Pakstan Provinces" Wavell rethat he had always hoped to be able a good" are full scale peline and the transmitted and implications of Pakistan, since he antici-I I have a would have out such a conference or commission and it aght only stir up communal "feeling." He felt, however, that continuing - ignore the possibility of its birth would not make Pakistan fade away

Wavell reached London before the end of August and found Pethock-Lawrence, who 'looks old, is pleasant and amiable," waiting to welcome tim hinne and motor with hon to Claudges They conferred in Whitehall the next day for an hour and a half. Two days later Wavell met with the toda committee of the cabinet chaired by Artlee Sir Stafford Cripps, now president of the Roard of Trade, was the committee's most formulable member. The Vicercy reported that he "dought t mast cullicity" hal Jamah would enter into discussions without a guarantee of screepinics of Pakistan, at least "in principle" Wavel's own judgmen was that "Junah spoke for 95 per cent of the Musum population of India in their apprehension of Hindu domination. ... The real strength of Mr Jinnah's position was the widespread and genume fear among and in Muslims of Hindu domination and I, not, in. "There has been a livery great hardining" in the positions of the India puries since 1942, the viceroi argued and he saw no readiness on the part of any party in India at present to a cept the Copps offer. As for the Constituent viscous. Muslims would boxed it has all paking a Pakistan issue was conceiled. Yet the conceiler that issue might lead to "a boyoott by the Hindus."

Except for Att or who had less and less time for India as prime minisor Copps and Petrick Lawrence were the one caused aendors to con-- it is solves as a wall lodge allers at the fire and Cropps could in a strends Holi and Scholinghr in downgrading Jonah's nower or and the Nord I ake ways yet ser as a Ward on the other hand to ring from reports of late's age Nource syreches that Congress was parting a of ter avolution to a total at a with the government in and a cost accordably toward Jonath and the VI-don League, who might I have a series only of esting the coming straight for power. So est to in a sign del as touts. I e fine a une ils strong staten prefest n at a loca reserve is complex policical probability those above the 1 coversors same astone has not the Empire offer at 1943 and another it is not a retirit in ges wrough a three teaching reas self. they in stong that "If the fire in the case of their were not and the point the responsibility would be thems. Wavell and I' were a abelief to the program a heart a to seek a better was the min finds that Great Britain's new postwar policy was the same old Cripps position. The viceroy met with Churchill on the eve of the reast a epithit or Lant Como and was shocked to karn hat the "only reason" Churchill "had agreed to my political move [the first 5 i ilu Conference] was that the India Committee had all told him it was mand to fail "

It hall had taken his pro-election fund-raising hour to Karachi en route o Quetta where the dry coo, air was thought to be best for his lungs. His message was simple and the same wherever he spoke—the Muslim League was "the only authoritative and representative" party of Muslims through on a India, and the sole platform of the Longue was Pakistan. Juninh begun to act she the head of a separate matro, moreover, he wired Atther at this time to proper any so come of Bratins has on Jewish refugers being adted into Pelestine, warning the prime infiniter. "It is my dirty to Inform you that any a propose to appeaue every at the sacrifice of Arabs would be

deeph resented and vehemontly resisted by Muslim world and Muslim ladia and its consequences will be most disastrous.***

With Janual obliged to remain in Baluchistan too weak to travel during the 1st3 campaign. Laquar A. and other Working Committee members of the Central Parlamentary Board and Committee of Action actually ran the Maslan League from its New Dellh head justices and tacketed candidates. Mach proving a controvers—acketing, and backeting ensued especially in Bengal, Sind, and the North-West Frontier. In and September Sir Firoz Khan Noon had resigned his defence seat on the victory of excitative council to return home to the Purnas—acinpaign there as a League candidate, but a month later Wasel reported to Pettark mavernee that Sir Firoz. Thus not been interest his velcomed and I don't it the Purty there fin the Purnash' is as united and cordial as a might be. The Mislim League have always suffered from lack of organization as compared with Congress and if they waste their time in prisonal quarters, hey may suffer at the polls."

Pakistan is the juestion of life and death for us." Jamah told a piblic meeting in Alonedahan shall food work in October stopping on his way have to Bondan, to pick by a check for 200 500 or erect collected non-fargants Mushims. "I had asked for silver hallers to fight the cleer on campa up, and Alonedahad had responded next to Bondan which was a richer on . . . All Mushims believed in one God and were one nation. They wanted Pakistan and would attain it. It was their amulet, their charm with the discretize the results and mercuise their stronger and give. The noon of Pakistan and whiling and we shall reach it." It was the respectively as a phining and we shall reach it." It is a susured the cheering crowd.

On November 2 Jamah predicted a Musair League "sweep" at the stationing a report from the Associated Press that according to one with ries of his Passetian ran, who contend it is to involved actin most step will be a demand upon Britain for recognition." Congress after a lite does not inneredate independence for India as a whole and the officials and prepared to declare "martial law." Positician Pethick-Lawrence, however, read none of Wavell's anxious reports of Congress campaign inheliate with great alarm, yet cabled the viceroy to ask. "But at 1 mah be induced to accept a modified form of it [Pakistan] which it mought be possible to concede?"

Cripps now advised the Cabinet committee to send a parl amentary delegation to India and orge the viceroy to neet with Gandhi reporting the understood that Gandhi was ready and willing to afficence Indian purpose towards understoon. To It as anticipated after elections. Congress would be "the indepth; party" it would no langer be possible to treat them.

rresponsibly, hence Labour's Petinck-Lawrence and Gripps resolved to he viceroy in rein on the rugged poinced road toward India's nide printlent rule, rather than allowing him to bolt off on any smoother martial TOU'V BY.

Waveil, however, was losing all patience with India's growing political or this are without the debate. His siences become more our pouss. (100 to) Boredom and copression settled deep roside the aging marsh as son, as he had earlier noted in a journal entry of mid-November 1945. "Back this evening from U.P It was the dullest your I have done, tiring, ments on bot" To Whitchall wave I wired an immediate top secret" reply "I do not think it advisable that I should myite Gandle to JULY THE "IT

Most or Wave is Jupression, and that it his connarader methef. Genera Atchmeck, as well as most of the senior British martial and civil were p focus at this time was renediately associated with the passome) he are raised against British one that New ober as some as in is majors of School Bises for it Not up, Arms were brough t is at a ser a New Year's Red Part Bose and died a a plane reach on is a five if or a ling to regards on Haids one Maxim and or Saf all which has been sopping a the British as we in Sulgamore who, it surrendered, emerged now as national heroes, Nehro, Bhalablan seen and I. Bah, it has present to refer Bese's officers with angly he no remore area to be hared as patrots throughout the nd. In hose's home city. Calcutta, riots of protest raged, leaving over to be blue reds and an entles appears a majort, beautifular is the Soil of ter the man got underway most British officials realized hat they had made a terrible mistake in giving the Indian National Army so much publicity and so prominent a platform.

Grapm. Sir Caude Aushinleck in a top secret letter to Wavell on Nov - aber 24, 1945, wrote-

The evidence reaching us now increasingly goes to show that the general opto on in the Army (at opposed to that of certain units and a viduals who have particular reasons for bitterness) is in favour of lemency If you agree on the case of the present trials, the ser conces we lid ac communited if it was clear from the evidence when the trials are concluded that the accused were carrying and what they believed to be their duty 9

To Wavell more than any message he received from Whitehall, this letter from the "A tek" conviced from that the days of the rat were membered. The world was may have been wee, but those was "lost," funds personally played no part in the great that of the Luchan National Army, though the League associated itself with the deleuse stace, as British Intelligence opined. The rise of Musams may make their offeet increasingly feat on the Muslim Public and League alike "18

QUETTA AND PESHAWAR (1945-46)

For the first time since 1936, Jianah journeyed to the frontier to campaign for a week. He addressed a Musiar League conference in Poshawar on November 24, 1945: "We have no friends. . . Neither the British, nor the Hundus are our friends. We are clear in our own minds that we have to fight against both of heir II both bring Bamas are contained against as we stall not be atrial of them. We of a fight their a declaring is also Inshaallah woo in the ind "he When Jim plass har road is the wanted Pakistan or not, their answer came in deafening shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar" reced is Great. To any Paics are be asserted the real, they had to do was to you for the League candida es. Then he second codepsive squeus etrate. They Horans lask What are the worthers of M. I male and the Mostor League It is the that I have not a reto a Nover pine, and a baid person, Bull Lask von White noth sacrifices in 1920-2 of Mr. Can to warneds the white there of leanurest plea or skills. This last warementione and to receiving James became governor resulting or the worst through the southed by when it a stalls population are felt We Candle store on his "small to ascend the theore of Congress national

In Carrotta Cases was beside himself with fe stration and learn the Lead the pro-lindar National Asia mots has a title to been additionde la worndon and on a wrecked the cat. Benga a governor riet with Canel in Calcula with his december and topological Wavel that Lis publica, reasoning lacked near to uncollaborate towerer care was on the foculate. A new constrails Case told Conditional was was studies to the war of so given a for End " a is not the Brosh bu in them the last was enflowed from and photon and right till agrees should make a mable appearance to a substant at ast of the ide part a betreeper of new constitute for Mashaux or file the good I see and suspences Coudly responded that he had "conceded safeguard after safeguard" to Jimah, who "constantly nused his price" until he reached what in essence was Pakistan, and the bill by a miting as could it a my Garidle asso told Cases that "he believed Jinnah to be a very ambitious man and that be had visiom of linking up the Moslems of India with the Moslems in the Middle East and elsewhere and that he did not be give that he could be italders off has decause "FR

The League won all thirty central agreeably seats (one of them Linuxb's,

that December a scanning victors that validated Jinnah's prediction and a quarted to prove the universal appear of Passian among Musiums of the subcontinent Congress though I retained a disjoint of fifty five actually lost four seats. The first round was over. The "day is not far off," Jinnah promised his jubilitati touowers, "when Passian shall be at your feet." He directed more criticism and sercism at Nehru, modeling him as "the print has Pandit who never university or earns anothing and never grows add.", nothing but Peter Pan."

Pethick-Lewrence wrote to Jinnah and Azad to inform them of the 1 birutary delegations torthcoming visit and asked if they would once a Brief to "cascuss matters with vicini." I analy not the terminate a total and the Landaux Protessor R. R. hards in New Delho on John School, which have days carrier Jinnah had to kee with Wavel for an early the at refusal to a low Languat remeet as th Wavel, shows now to be a teased any of Landaux cannot be particulated in each ingest thous a landaux of the attention of the control of the particulated and so the wrestles to win Pakastan.

4. I provincial currion ear suigns reated up reports of H near M. F. ets, and of hois applies apparent expenses in the Penpil of the Almana tell a lawrence and concrete then that it would so iss o an another pend of period segundations to the view or on and all a less than a cobract seem to India was required to rote it Har Mala 'unit not Three masters with "he art way order to a data same lesson are secretary of state would have in 8, e. t. and induce processing and extreme up to and somethican March Time one ray Atlantias maxim agh a act ie is final card no rethe sail samples swell a olds rag linux la contactions to be war a smeth size and follow and though said and rome a nonviolent. The army might even decide not to obey orders. Comit taken of Johan National Army trial sentences and accelerated the melanorphosis of "mutaieers" into nat roal herges. The total number of Eurois the confliction of the season of the seas exercised their option of retiring on their neusions back home. Precious tile ti ne left.

The cabinet decided in February to send Cripps and first lord of the admirally, A. V. Alexander to India to be, together with Pethiek-Lawrence, here three, wise men. Wavell was afraid Cripps would be the "operative circum" among those magi and considered Cripps, "soil to the Congression of view," and not quite "stroight" in his "methous," A month before the call not quite "stroight" in his "methous," A month before the call not quite "stroight, and parkamentary delegation led by

Richards returned to 10 Downing Street to report what it had found. Most members agreed that some form of Pakistan would have to be concededand the sooner the better. Mrs. Mariel Nichol, who admitted that she began her visit to India "impressed b" the strong necessity of main aiming no mit of India tound the Panish 'explosive'. The Mishm population there was "all worked up in favour of Post state" sac concluded and therefore it "must be consider." She believed great would indity his demand to on a fithe "principle were granted "at an early stage "28 Br gadier Austra Low felt it "would be understrable that H. M. C. should make a declaration I favour of Taxistan' be agreed that it might is necessary but feared tax slan is not a viable proposition." M. P. Reginald Surviya: "reginard Pakistan as while print out he was not sure that Mr Justia on he as regarded as a rational person. Let an as view meess, in "Mr. Armor Bot simples the north Pokistap by the glit to said a recessar nowand wide stead bloodshed is to preserve our own trade adopted to for whereas the stong tendence in the Congress paper? Provinces was to beyont trade with the Lorted Kingdom, the May my were enger to do business will us ""R

Pethode Lawrence's brill and prevate seer first. Francis Ternbull true, just potential after the control of the last of seet the control of seet the control of the seet the seet of the seet the seet of the seet the seet of the seet of

The division of India will be born in bitter antagonism and it will ten a ply be raily to asseme that the set li not be perfort in each 1. Recessary to regulate the machers of course year nows and of economic intercoorse between the Pakistan States and the rest of India. It is hard to resist the conclusion that taking all these considerations into account the aplitting up of India will be the reverse of beneficial so far as the livelihood of the people is concerned.

i apour d'India's pre deuts e rought hrought famine o most of tacnot provinces of the subcomment, and grain shortoges were starting in the control lepu of the foreter March oppered to Candronau, in the control lepu of the province of the following the Landon and to the United States Jinnah responded positively Wavelline ported that Gandhi advised him to "seed for Azad and talk to him." With land grains rationed to twelve cances per day mass protost marches began in many Judou order starting with Allahabad. Visible "deter nation of th" was w despresse. The average Indian's rationed dict provided no met that a 200 calones, fewer than half the numeric requirement for nor that defiv activity."

On February 18, 1946, most of the sailors in the Boyal Indian Navy in a larbor were a sike in right wager. The next may 3000 or more "multineers," as the British considered them, marched around Boomers,

for ng C s of housands of arden, street supporters. The Cangress fing flew from both the H.M.I.S. Taluar and the H.M.I.S. Lahore, as well as run the late of many jub lant sailors, who called themselves members of the H.N.N. (Indian National Navy), in emulation of Bose's I.N.A. (Indian Navy), in explain the bose of Bose's I.N.A. (Indian Navy), in emulation of Bose's I.N.A. (India

of 88 Musin each, a clear mandate for Pakeston among Musinus of the province, then gh not enough votes to allow the League to form a ministry on her 8 s.— Couper's var port by Said to League at 4 dgbt was the first sune, with 28 out of 34 seats, while in Assam though even a higher percentage of Musilia League canditates won (31 out of 34), Congress gards refused to enter a coalition government with its most hated they Jonaha party soon second a singular victory in Bengal, however, with may Tour of 18 Musilian seats. The League lost badly on the fronter, will only 17 out of 38 seats. The averall provincial tally gave the Loague more han 88 percent of the Musilian vote moretheless—quite enough to ego u by the Bakstan termand in the eyes of the world.

"The British Covers ment and the British people desire, without reservation, as consummate the promises and pledges that have been made," Pet res-Lawrence stated as he and his Cabrier colleagues touched Indian at 1 the March 23. Major Woodrow Wyatt returned to India with the Cabrier Mission as Cripps assistant, and was the first member of the Mission as Cripps assistant, and was the first member of the Mission as Cripps assistant, and was the first member of the Mission as Cripps and Juneau Patrick and I made and Juneau Patrick Cone to Juneau Patrick and Taxi" Military Shan Navaz, Sir Milhammad Sloubs gravia a gatter who kept this informed of Janual's Ilinang and the Linna dynar to of the Longaz, to which she belonged. "The Mislim Long is secret to be so the Ireh and Januals" Wyatt reported in Cripps on

March 23.5 Camps met with Jimah for an hour on the atoming of March 30. "He was calm and reasonable but completely firm on Pakistan." As a result of that conversation, Jimah agreed to invite Gandhi to meet him. As was so often the case at the start of previous negotiutions, Jimah s opening posture was surprisingly cordial and disarmingly reasonable.

Gandhi appeared before the Misson on April 3, "naked except for a dhoti and looking remarkably healthy "3" Wavell reported.

Air Gandhi said that he had passed 18 days with Mr Jimah He claimed to be a sincere friend of the Muslims but had never been able to appreciate the Pakistan which Mr Jimah says he means. . . . His Pakistan was a sin which he (Mr Gandhi) would not commit. The substance of Pakistan as he understood it was independence of culture and a legitimate ambition. . The two-nation theory is far more dangerous. The Muslim population is a population of converts

all descendants of Indian-born people Jimah is sincere but his logic is utterly at fault especially as a kind of mania possesses him the himself was called a maniac and he therefore homoured Jimah for his mania. . He asked Jimah whether his own son [Horilal Can L. wl.) it d gone over to the Mus in region change I is as thousalty by duing so. . . Let My Jimah form the first Government and choose is preconcil from hetel square reference. It is consistent would appoint them formally but, in fact, My Jimah would choose if he does not do so then the offer to form a Government should be made to Congress. . The Interim Covernment must be absolutely national. My Jimah could choose who he liked for his Government. They would be subject to the vote of the Assembly from which they were drawn.

thus lawrence interrupted Candh, at this point to note that limits, it is not a construction of the assemble seats where he will be to preside over a government most A whose nemsters belonged to "parties other than his own." Gandhi said that was "inoscapable." The recretary of state pointed out that "Jinnah's government" would, in that a new lawe to be predominantly thindul. Mr. Gandhi said he did not undestrate the difficulties of the situation which the Delegation had to face if he are out an irresponsible optimist he would despair of any solution."

Jinnali arrived for his interview the next morning at ten and spoke to the man or three hours. For which at least two were, to my mind," noted the perfect wasted," I much began with an instorted survey of India showing how cursh to the long past India has been unified. "A thindu will wish his hands after shaking hands with a Muslim," he argued though he personally was probably more acropulous to that parties or India.

Poth ox Lawrence and Cripps both modeled Jianah on questions of de-Lis see "as stanks, friends the fram the Northwest triang the season to be a drawd that sees the life from the structure with one at totally a getter structure concerned, but Jianah stood his ground on a totally a getter structure to be and

1 1

Notice was on tour in Southeast Asia at this time, his visit to Mulaya with great sopular success, thanks in no small measure to the warmth of oil in that Manath to succeive there in all the sub-connections of a Notice of the sub-connections.

It is a official reported to the India Office. The was a little scoraful of , I is a didoubted very much whether he had either the intention or the sweet is start a revolt in India if he did not secure Pakistan. . Jinnah' to mith, 'rait or ten ads me of the man who was charged with the murder of his mother and father and begged the elemency of the Court on the

groot I that he was an orphan." "41

Or pps was then roady with his top secret double-barreled solution for the press and the League to consider Proposal A was a three-part "Union of A.F. India" offer with the Hindu-majority provinces, Muslim-majority provinces, and princel, states all under the umbrella of a minimal union govern ieu, that controlled defence foreign affairs and communications, reposts is was that there should be "two Indias formed from the territures of Ber sh India, Et adastan and Pakestan, to either of which the rail at a States contained in minimal and relations the exact limits of Pakistan sound be determined from the religious identity of populations in all districts in the Northwest and Northwest regions. Since Pakistan was predicated on the two-nation theory based solely on religion. "It would be whe by inconsistent with talk theory if non Muslim uniforty, areas should it and to be eventual stability if large intrantities were by he thus barbaled and to be eventual stability if large intrantities were by he thus brighded

against their will, "*** There would have to be some form of treat, drawn up between these two "independent sovereign States" to deal with essential econe - matters and questions of deferse, foreign policy and communications with to both nations. Since turn was running out Cripps proposed presenting the details of their two achieness of the enders of all run or parties, masting that wallan a tew one sithey but the mission of their single is to accept either plan A or plan B. "It neither of the plans meets with general acceptance" - we must recommend that the one which has the greatest to time of support is immediately acted upon that getteral acceptance we shall so all or influence to put through that scheme which has the greatest measure of support "46".

Another week of interviews contributed little to what the mission had almostly learned but leaped refine them ofter area settings, which were received first of all to Jacob on A off 16. 1948. Before in interview with Jimah are had 20 minutes Press philotography, sitting round in the and very obviously out fall tog business." We described a lad cach appared on raze for jobbies, "it limb II. Wavely and car jos had each appared of an how sest to tacker Jimah, in how a following Jimon that has all and complete domaid for lossest in high a top his investigation of accepture "and that so contours?" each hop in receive build the whole of the let form much did a distinct of a part of the contours of the contours of the let form much did all all added a papelled but whole of the let form much did all all added a papelled but Whitehold Jimah prefered.

Mr Jamah asked I we Pak stan came a index se proposed a Tadia man," the secret record of that interview reported.

The Secretary of State said that briefly there were two propositionsu small l'akistan with sovereign rights and a Treaty relation, and a larger Pakistan. . . . The latter would come together with Hindustan on terms of equality within an all India Union. . . . Sir S. Cripps saul that under the second alternative two Federations would be oreated linked by a Union Centre, . . . The communa, balance would he retained at the Centre by some means even if the States came in there Mr Jinuali asked how the Union Executive would be formed Sir S. Cripps said that the Pederations would choose the members of the Union Executive. Mr Jinnah asked how if there were equal representation, decisions were to be reached. . . . Sir S. Cripps said that . . . responsibility would go back to the two Federations if agreement could not be reached. Mr. Jirnah expressed Jonk a as to whether this arrangement would work as practice. Morton would have to be decided every day to regard to detence. From what laid

been said he had not been able to get anything which would enable him to say that the Union idea was worth considering. . . . Mr. Jinnah said that no emount of equality provided on paper was going to work. . . . Would those, for example, be equality of each community in the Services?

The Secretary of State said that Mr. Jimnah seemed to be turning to the other alternative and asked Mr. Jimnah's views on that. Mr. Jimnah said that once the principle of Pakistan was conceeded the question of the territory of Pakistan could be discussed. His claim was for the a effective but he was willing to discuss the area. . . He could not possibly accept that Calcutta should go out merely for the sake of 5 or 6 takes of Hindus (largely Depressed Classes who would prefer Pakistan) most of whom were imported labour. The Secretary of State and he without to emphasize that the Delegator did not consider that either of these two alternatives would be readily acceptable to the Congress. . . . Mr. Jimah said that he thought will respect that the Congress should be nothing. The units of India was a myth.

Jamel's legal acramicas provid note that Pethak Lawrence. Cripps of Alexander could outset though all three was British arms resea their best

Final "the Secret rs of State suggested that Mr., analishmuld that the mutter over further. After the Delegations return to the Advantaged as Mr., and work at their some as position." Round 1 Our was over I am take to a moute down but care to some an points before the hell sounded, giving him on interlude of much-needed test.

18

Simla Revisited (1946)

Masterful leader that he was. Jinnah marshi ad his forces, tightening his et percent as a collar control control marsh her if not to percent as a collar control control marsh her above mission 4 in who elected Mashin Lengue legislators from provincial and control assembles musticed to Delli, the og carls April 186 t take and sign soreina judges "in the some of the time. On the Deneficent of Marshill," document, the reconstruction that "the safety and security, and coalest on and dead in at the Mask. Nation which in the Sulcot is of India lies only in the achievement at Pukistan in and security, and set of India lies only in the achievement at Pukistan in and security and legion at the rightness and the nature of my couls. I pueuge it would be go at the per trulous sacrifice which may be a many diof are."

hed to do the per true or sacrence which has it shall be the best parameters, afternoon to every elected representative of the Maxim League areads) and chisers. Are ed with those promissors on the life of each Maxim League leads in Reit of India. Quanda at rest indict his followers. We have made a so envi dictart in a this in faint leater. Convention, that while we hope for the best we are prepared for the worst.

what ext seed Bengal's Subrawards, moving the podge resolution and night. "We want to five in peace. We do not intend to start a civil war, and we want a land where we can live in peace. . . . I have long pondered that even a beginning to five in peace. . . . I have long properties as down his ric", and turning to Quadd-i-Azam he domanded. "I call upon you to test us." His land and a set of with load black curse man apoke in Urdu, affirming that "Muslims will now decide their own destiny" and he turned toward his great leader, sitting on the partition in

me Anglo Arabic Hall wearing a cream-colored sherwari white shaturer, and regal fur cap, vowing, "We will lay down our lives for Pakistan."

The Punjab's nawa; of Mamdot raised his mighty right arm as be spoke. We are asked how we will detend Pakistan. I would say that if s attaint so diens of the Purias could defend Brit in against Nazi aggresson hey on also actend new own hearths and homes." From the Norththat I on er rose Parial season Khan Abdu. Oayyum Ahan "amade to a torons appla se" to shout "Thank Cou, we have one flag one leader, the potentiand one ideal Pakistan outgle for We are on waiting for a me after o do whatever s considerer in conserv for the attainment of Los at Youth Sprin She mat the a Khan was there to assure his the Asset "I speak for the Princel sources and I so that the a partie is his explored soldiers is he Peniul are pledged to achieve Paki sit. Yit so are holding is there and we hoght you to give the war. if my art as provers the done my how we call and now we mea-I defend a lake and More restrained per un in the was order Ser rea kler Noon said. Neather the Haman ner the British know vel it is we in examility go non or to achieve takestan. We are on the threshold of a great tragedy "4

We are a fighing for what are we among at fine ah asked his limin at fivers a combine they pleaged his there all as a common a from a dream to find many faith, edge of a freadly precipiese.

When we are got excepting or and the ligence capacity and contenges withins that nations must possess. But two things are lacked in the light at the legislation of the second of the se

The relation returned from holiday in Srinoger on April 24 and asked Grops to meet with Januah "informatly" that evening to put to him their life to the life to the life to the life to the federation with provinces grouped to embrace the areas of Pakistan and dry the Lengue, with the rest of British India going to Hindustran and the princely states being permitted to foir either. The All-India Lulon at the top of the federation would have controlled defence, foreign

affairs, communications, and minority problems. The federated groups of Hindustan and Pakistap were to have had their own flags and internal security turiss, and they would have been governed by central legislatures, each clerting equal numbers of representatives to an all-ladia amon Manorsty problems and complaints would have been referred to a mon court representing the sajor commentes. The Massim League and Congress w. .ld each have appointed dr 'ting committees of their own to draw up group a was fistions. Congress leadership argued to a such a plan actually created Pakistan before an one real see the exect of the ocsire for such a new state is n among Mush; representatives. The massion treat proposed electing a special commission from between 150 to 200 members from all the acwly elected representatives of every assembly and pluring Passatan to a vote that rody if an least 20 recent of the compression voted in Panistin, then Musly representatives of the peny retal assent-1 es of the Panjah Sind the North-West Front r, Bengal a d Assa 18 Still et district, ou d'or et separatels et vote in whether ac avisland to opt or of an Indian, mon If at heast "5 preser so voter they words remain outside and + Sinc in Purpl and the Vigil West I're are onter to separate then Bah clustup we detalso become pur of hat l'akistan as was d Benga and s that Sor Misson of ty dispate with a best prov nees as a faist Penjal, and West Borgs, could are to remain in the It has Up as and if 75 percent of the respresentatives preferred it those horder provinces would be so partitioned.

Capps found Junah "in an interceptive moon," Jun I did however, we to down the pair's Crops proposed to I "he said that if Congress would · prothese proposes he would not them to as Working Com a free" & with how end one and quarter segators Jaman could be when he disliked a proposa. Wavel oenes al that Junalis mere a figuress to present a plan to the follower of stated provisional, very provisional, acre pthere there is a therefore authorized to see Nebra informatly and to wand him" on the mission's proposition, but Jawabarlal "turned down the in a proposal flat. This was relieved sequare one That evening Or sps reterned to Januah's house and once again put to him the previous A and B the linna debate reject of the min win sovereign las stan" em-I which is that Both was the same the tree tiered fed . I was loce his Working Committee if he could be assured that to its war separed to consider it." Cripps was so heartened by this who the sea lust he took plan A to Azad the next day (though Nehru had just agreed to become his successor as president of Congress the next month), and the Maulana proposed a summit meeting of tour Congress and four League leaders to hancer out details of that "solution" Ce-upIt not not not went sack to J mah with his "good news", however Jimsh tenanded him that what he had previously expressed was merely his "person a common and not necessard that if the League" though he was willing to put that idea before his Working Committee. The mission and Ware 11st draftee a letter to hot Jimsh and Azad proposing a sound net angest Simla. New Delhi by their was sweltering, and everyone as, id if at hances of reaching closure were hand to be brighter in the contrarefied more rational atmosphere of a Himalayan hill station.

The reconversed at Similar of May 5, Whyoling on their burthday Inc. the Long and M. Kon a Surrey And or Ray Nightur 1899-1958, and Nation Aloname ad Ismail Khan 1996-1958 to just he at the sticket Az son sted Nebru rate and klean Aona Chaffan khan as Congress's the rist was a and blas in and half If you comply refused to stake advantable to the otherwise the meeting got off a what Way spenned as a not built 1 start. The "first point of contravers, arose over anion I as to gess sample to again a have mover of cheret taraban and the selection of the wire January also after that I should be given a I a see I would have to un to the groups if it wanted more " The ne lond spraces are ential jogs to congress passed on having one, and Jinnah was negative, "his arguments . . . weaker and a trans a se as War I noted I much a speed a wanted less legisla-1 H. s. a. stor grow the of fixed where Congress was a pears not been got force of passar of the alcovera course of every argument and conflict at Sirala remained the basic differences bewith a complete by enable capacity of gresses in farty government philoso-, have of politica life.

On the morning of May 6, Nehru and Jimah crossed swords in what was to evo ve into the most deadly duel in Indian history

Nehri and that , . . The Union of india, even if the list of subjects was short, rust so strong and organic Provinces would not be one wented from co-operating among themselves over such subjects as education and health, but they would not need a Group Executive. He appealed to the League to come into the Constitution-making Body on the assurance that there would be no compulsion. Mr Januah replaced that he could not accept that invitation. But if the Congress . . would accept the Groups, the Muslim League would accept the Union . Nohre pointed out that Mr Jimush had accepted us feature of the Union. The Union without a Legislature would be fathe and entirely unacceptable. I

While Nebru and Judish fenced, "Pate's face of cold angry disapproval was a study" worthy of viceragal notice? That aftersoon Nebru said that

"the question of grouping would arise after the constitution had been formed, insisting that "The first question I, decide was the character of the Union After that Provinces highly excrease their autonomy subject to the Union constitution and Provinces are represented vesting of the quantity of the All-India Constitution making Body proposals for grouping." ¹⁸

Cripps drafted a new "points of agreement" document, which he planned to show sandle that evening asking Wavel I lack! Jonah The Mal atura was horry in burness Chadwick" ot ngaww with Patel and Guid for khan but he had not come to at mass on her ngs (ripps had hep id to win Gandhi's sepport but he struck out Gam he argued it at the proposed sol dion was worse than Pakestan, and he con I not recontinend a to Congress." He "seemed quie immoved at the prospect of ear war," Wavell noted, concuding I think by Garoti Fad adopted Fatel's thosis that if we are fire the Mushwa we not high to a notified evening A svell not with I much for over an hor. He was stem I be showed less call the pate of Congress and all their works. He is convinced of to a intersten to spit the Missins and source is tide domination we health that we may do what we the kip strengt have but not press our no said. Melo while Copps returned to talkle Candbo in Litas carse ad the Mala magase "to Lapping to a partinee proposa of the threewhen " Warell who did not get trus their and who he miso had Caralles was not as all persons I that C we sel Co up o he altat, . . . more likely that G. has led C. down the garden path ""

the Most 1916 rethick Lawrence sent J man and Azad dentical frame sings steeper ats of agreement that started was "There challed with a data from Lower next and Legislature density with Foreign to Defence Commany atoms find mental rights and having the associate to obtain far staff the finance of equations or here as bjects."

The control of All the recogning provers of the Provinces and associate these end through the removes the former of a red groups may determine the Provinces and backets which here desire to take in common "I had replied the same day from "Yarrows," the burga ow he occupied to Stella.

We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from the original formula embodied in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress. In these circumstances, we think no useful purpose will be served to discuss this paper 19.

Gandlii also rejected the written points of agreement for various other approxis, but primarily because 90 million Musaux would enjoy "parity"

ville over 200 million Hindus, an idea he termed "really worse than Paki-

They were back to the drawing board. Cripps went to see Azad; Wavell ved [mah. Nehr, was won Azad when Cripps saw them budning them noth "reasonable" but "having great difficulty" with "colleagues," presumbly the arming Parte. Journals assured Wavell that he was trying to be reasuppole" but that he was "already the subject of criticism from his supare its for anyong one ded" on the acceptance of a timon of any kind at . In termind a great concessor in This he as sed on Paxistan is a meting to define heir own constitution. On the evening of May B Notice proposed that congress and the Lengue should next with in conper a serie il a paretto of efference "Janua repuese that he would be The theoretany flinds representatives of Congress. There was a preg rant a lence for a minute or so, and then Nehru suggested that he and I and any one there and then and see whether this could decide on a para a every measure left (1), our reason and streeted reason Self are or test mounts while Jonal and Seles locked heres no s my or at les agreed ou, or adjourn for two days, however me resolved to meet again on Saturday, May 11 at 3:00 P.M.

Now a vect from the even fully a country to the choice of a subdiving a subdin

They fought on till after 6:00 P.M., when Pethick-Lawrence asked Jumb to put his precise conclutors in writing for the next round to begin build by evenue. Jimab sent a written statement of ten principles to Pethick Lawrence the next day. There were to be separate constitution-making, bodies for the Pakishin and Hindustan groups, and "parity of representation" between the groups in a muon executive or legislature that might be established. No "controvers all decision could be taken in the amon except by a "three-for-ths" majority. Azad also submitted a written proposal or ignered points of agreement on behalf of the Congress. It opened with the formation of a right contribution ascentists, composed of elective repre-

sentataves of all provinces and princes, states. Petatox-Lawrence asked both parties that exeming if they thought in view of nos ions they had outlined that they saw any "chance of reaching agreement." No one could honestly say vies. The secretary of state, therefore, ell he had no further option but "to close" the conference. The enbinet mission and viceroy planned to return to New Delhi on Tuesday.

That Monday, May 13, Wavell talked with Jimah, who "looked tired and all." They talked about the new executive council at the exectory proposed to appoint Wavel offered the League parity with Congress, planning to anchold one Sub-one Schudelled Caste measible and one "other" monorabilite urged Jimah to accept iso favourable a proportion." Jimah lastened care for his mad. In the americal He said but, whether or not the Missans League came into the Internal Covernment was all dupred in whether our Statement sectional Skely to offer a solution of the Longitus plan was to get council of the Central Covernment. The and concernate of get again to be in the Provinces. Jimah minuted to remain to State to "asst and recepted."

The resion now telt of I ged to propose its own settlement. I final more in this state and diginal It has state to all the or, and its soulced at the documents and prestoned all the with as a larger of all the deterred no larger. The parm in ster manual in account of his messions are gress. The field between four manual in was kept hound in many the light name and Manual and a larger in messent of the control of the contro

The cabinat assion broadcast its plan worldwide from New Delhi on Diarraday right. May 16, 3948, It was to ask hope for a wight himsing peacet. It is not never the British rap. The situation referred the "fully independent sovereign State of Pakstan" option, rejecting it for various reasons, among which were that it "would not seave be contain an anti-net recommended himsing the while irrevocably shattering the military, economic, and administrative unity so actionally developed throughout the last century and none of British rule. The basic form of the constitution recommended was a three-tier scheme with a minimal central Union at the top for only for ongradiants defence, and communications, and Provinces at the bottom which "should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures," with each Group being empowered to "determine the Province to a bip coupont to taken in commen." Every ten years any Province road by a right congrity vote "call for a recentaideration of the terms of the terms of the roads to in."

Details of the new constitution were to be worked out by an assembly conventing "as broad-based and accurate" a ross section of the popular is find as possible in elaborate muthod it assuring proper representation of all communities was outlined with due consideration given to the representation of states as well as provinces.

"To the leaders and people of India who now have the apportunity of

cural rued

We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be it is life for the Incian maple that acres to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties . . . this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which . . . we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the abortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance in one set These we made may not if course completes satisf al parties . . We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of those proposals . . a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foresteen but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many nifhous of men, women and children. . We appeal to all who to 1 for gone of fights at heart to extent their vision several their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four I indred millions of the Indian people . . . we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past."

We have against the British rate. Gard's commented text thay if the statement of the Mission was genuine, as he believed it as a second to be stated to be stated

for the Statement would hinge on this point "St The vicercy "was not very clear" what was at the back" of Ganobi's mind or raising this question businessed forestail, as much had that he was "quite convancid" but the primary objective of Congress was "to get power at the centre in the Interim Covernment" so that it could then "at any time torpedo the Constitution-making Body by raising some crucial communal assue."

Jineah phooed from Srinagar on May 18 to report that "the reaction of the Musims against the St. tement is very strong,"20 and regrested a morth before coming to as decision," in order to have true to conside as Work ing tunin thee He was oly his fight to a time on two counts his own fragile health fixed to its mat but week thicks and his concern about extremests to less win party, who were ready to linearly had welcook in ther delay. If the thing was rushed eve wit og would se sponed " I mah warded Wavel's invate secretary in their tell, hone conversation. Nexmorening the miscor but with I regist Al Mary and more into it was impossible for them to wait four weeks for joigh's response. They pressed him to urge Junual to return to Delhout once or to a a horize the Nawabzacia [1 aquat Ab] to negot de and aquat nor secuto a bet reformed that all er nor latter a to a second to the telephone and said that I was calling the Working Committee ... for June 3 and a and the Capeil for Julie 5 and legged not Che Lurred as Caladd take time of setsuade his pelicile to accept the procusuls "to the aissio agreed, though " that relationshe" I must planned to return to New Delly on lane 2, cut ting his much needed vacation in the hills short by a week

On May 19, the very day Liaquat Alt met with the mission, Gandlin of the Pethalk Favorence from "Variotal Mauther where he was strong a New Jellin to ask further enhancement on the same as least to see at a set asset on earlier concentration with the secretary of star. Do you regard a commendation as blagators or an nember of the contemplated Configuration Assembly required the Mahatma. I know as regal position, "Caudha added Ma quiston has refer ner to the honoter-through news or open to a tipe open." West "read that letter as "the first of the Congress efforts to wreek the Groups of Provinces."

Cripps drafted a reply to Gandhi which explained: "We have stated publicly that we cannot further negotiate these proposals which are—as far ownermed—in their final form "** On May 20, Gandhi wrote again this time at greater length

I would put on record my conviction that Independence in fact would be a furce, if the British Troops are in India even for peace and order within, or danger from without . . If the point in about he Troops peaking, "Independence ment month," in eith, it interests or a though

SIMILA REVESTED (1946)

less cry Acceptance of 'Quit India' by the British is unconditional whether the Constituent Assembly succeeds or fails. A drastic revision of the attitude is a necessity. As to the Interim Government, the more I think and observe, the more certain is my feeling that a proper National Covernment responsible in fact, if not in law, to the elected members of the Central Legislative Assembly should precede the summons for the election of members of the Constituent Assembly. Without it, deep and universal corruption cannot end, without it the psychological effect will not be produced. Every day's delay in forming such a government is agony to the famished in films of India ⁵⁰

I set Lord Alexander was then convinced that "Candin had two objectsto meritate the British Government and to promote a policy of scuttle, and to seems power setsent contribute out of the contribute of the being and so to abandon the just claims of the Musam League "**

The masson wired Attes that the "situation has taken a turn for the as a construct to be an attack its growing proposed at a construct to parity in the interim Executive. These two points my be crucia in securing Muslim co-operation. . . We may therefore be used before long with threat of direct action by Congress if we do not the masson waited for the Leugus to not like the country. While the mission waited for the Leugus to not a security of the construction of the security of the security of the construction of the security of the se

Governor Sie Frederick Burrows of Bengal informed the mission on May 24 and Bengal II adas and Muslims were both much "selfeved" that here province would not have to be partitioned if the plan were accepted. He warners however that rejection of the proposals by Juniah would lead to resigns ion of the Lesque missive and serve as a "signal for a Johnd." I ere had already been "a serious situation in Chittagong started by studoria mulest ag against the rejection of Pakistan," controlled only because of Mas in ministers going personally to that port to exert mollifying additions.

Wondrow Weatt spoke with Jurnah on Friday May 24, and was beformer by Quard. Again that "What was conjuned was a surgical operatal." If make must have known by their that his longs were incombletheright apple must have known by their that his longs were incombletheright apple must have known by the other dission through Major Wyatt "as to how they should proceed," if he thought the massion would not breach his combidence." We att reassured him on the confinementality point and reported as beher that what Jimah wanted to tell the mission was that the British shared rome as the banking forces in the Inc. an Centre for some 15 years and deal with aetime, and foreign affaits for Fakisian and Handustan consulting the Print Manuters of each State "44 This see ned a sens life solution from Junia, a point of view since that would have created the leas having and provided the most seem by and stability to all Indians expecially he majority's He hard sot say a m pulling of course and he doe not trust Cripps to keep it from Neural Nor was he certain that Punck havettee worke not up his hand to Condbi cet with time runs agoon and his energy a colon as a was, in all on yoush telt about desperate to copy a this artiful to his in satural to his in satural it was too lat. He was very approus. What noted about he strong Maslim reaction," against the missions scattern I and has most heatant to support it openly

What elevera concluded by lasks g" I mah, in view it of that he had assume as sent to as moud administrative better the Leagus Working Connective architecture process by passic resolution on air following lines.

The British had exceeded their barel in pronouncing on the me its of Pakistat. They had no our ness to tary down what in I now of propie wanted. That amore is all Pakistan was outrageness. But the Mi shows far move experied the Dispit to give their Pakistan. The characteristic experied according to the Pakistan are the tary that to get it by their own strong right arm. The selfect of our and could not the Calmet Mission's Statement was impract use and could not the Calmet Mission's Statement was impract use and could not far a first of the statement and would not go out of their way to said to the parcedure but they would accept the Statement and would not go out of their way to said to the parcedure but they would accept the Statement as the first step on the road to Pakistan.

At this proposition be was delighted and said: "Fats it is we go it, and I am completely convinced that that is what the Muslim League will do," Wealt quite rightly, most presciently, predicted.

"Cripps is still in hospital though botter, and Alexander is gone to Creden to inspect the Fleet "Pethick-Lawrence wrote Attlee on May 28.

What is going to happen I don't know. Goodht is provokingly enigt.

The State of the Algorithm of the Algori

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any formal or legal change in the interim constitution, but they want almost absolute power in reality and they want something to be able to say about it to their people. Jinnah not only does not want the Viceroy to relinquish his authority but he positively wants him to retain it. The Vicercy is now I think convinced that he must go to the limit of what is possible in satisfying the Congress. . . . I have abandoned hope that we may surmount this difficulty and that both Congress and Maslan League may both express a gradging acquirescence in our plan sufficient to enable us to go ahead with summoning the Constituent Assembly , on or before June 15th. There are many people who would welcome our posthyely getting on with the job.49

Not least among them, Patrick-Lawrence himself

Jinnah returned to New Dolh; on June 2, and Wavell met with him the the righter air finding has no good heart. He said he would no give the matter for the Interim Government until after he had seen bis Council. but got the impression that the M. L. would probably come in. . He il a serior radamente e the Vandams has not been given parit in the Union Lig Matrix, and stressed the very great concession he have redeto agreeing to a Union at all . . . He then asked what we should do if the and and congress retuses I has the pate this quiet and now deed S. of S. . I told ham that the M. L. would certainly not suffer to the contest to work the regular so the and that the intension as with any party who would work for it. He asked for some any more specific before he met his Working Committee at 6 p.m. all to I you is nothing more a think course by the Dick it. asked me to do so."4 Wavell got the delegation's "permission to give Imoul, a verba, assurance" that afternoon,

The League council met on June 5, and a "secret" British Intelligence report noted that "Mr. Jinnah said that he and other members of the Workg Committee were worried as to what would happen if the Muslan-League accepted the proposals and the Congress did not 'The Viceroy realled that he would brook no refusal from Congress and that if they deeided against acceptance he would hand over the interim government to the Muslim League and give them all the support they required. point was ru sed by same members in the Council meeting and Mr. Liv. look them into confidence and gave the same reply "6 Next day finish a loce to his Langue council, informing them "It is now up to you as the Larliament of the Mushin Nation to take your decision, this delay is not good a fire for the Bistoli Coverament or the Hindux II key love freedom, it they leve the independence of India, if they want to

be free, then the sooner they realise the better that the quickest way is to agree to Pakistan." of Jimnah H en discussed both internal and external rela tions, calling woon the Arabs to "see that not one more Jew andon it , 'ales time" condemning the "Dutch aspenalist head on Indonesia" and concluding that I India most I no x laid "wind in their heads. "There is no renada for a disease of the kind. Where a man is inder a deliasion, the only place for here's a length asylure. With his lesismon, the Himee is arragan, I cam was and oppressive But I hask all this will soher down It it does not, then we shall have to do something to make it sober down."4"

Before June 6 ended the Movam League country accepting the car until missions plat "he a large majorite". Wavely noter. Now the real bettle agers and the good in shop is whether the Delegation will stand up to Congress or no Park a the Int riv Covernment ma Le to dam sale 144 Francis Transbull his hill seeth Berla or Jr. 6. reporting 1000 a med by was at from his regard for Mishin Traggar, arriver on on int a given it Tar bud soled to be dailight torgress had come cert that the epithing method Smila and an Int and assured he situation, had been note a florent to temp, ring an emergency warture go capacient, and low will be allons having given in our st most of the "general seats" there could be no question of parity for the League

lineal societies have will the viceros on Jule? and young wave sal I want of the Defence Ports do for breach and breege Allars ad I a make for two of lest older as "to an interior government man oscil of to May as Leaguery live Cauguess to loss, and call, we general It was the is first soon to a now in a page to property a say for a governe toffice and so dd anton natch by his list Journal asked the species what would be sent to be seat in the Assembly if he became a member of Interim Covernment" and "said he hoped there was no objection to his creating resident of the Mastin Langue I be came and the Intra-Covernment "N

Nehru and Azad came to speak to the cabinet musion on June 10, argoin againstly against parity, Wavell, Alexander and Fethick-Lawrence tried to argue for greater tolerance and more cooperation with the League, at Nehru assisted "it was frankly beyond the power of Congress to agree There and are or end the scene letting the known to Pethick Lawrence and Cripps through intermediaries that he was willing to see them. Alexander like Wavell, was "completely mistrustful now of G. and all his ways."41 Cropps suggested that the vicerty tackle Juruah and Nehru, Pethick-Lawrence wanted to go off to see Gandhi, but the first sea lord "was dead against it "as With his health restored, Cripps came up with the idea of "two vice providents" on the interior government cubinet, one from each party Jinnah and Nehro-rotating office. It was also possible under this arrangement to have Nehra and Jinnah as Ministers with it port follows: It was agreed that he vicers should ask Nehr and Jinnah to come to dinner had evening for a discrission on on the position of the Interior Covernment." Extrame agreed, was essential to get these two leaders to talk before their party positions from incompatibly.

That eight Creats were personally to persuade Januah to meet with Nehru and Wuvel, the following soming He spent several hours with Januah has more to be Della house need darg an obsequed note of their conversation which has been an orderly hiddeled. Note hy Mar Wya "64 by the was clearly the record of this most critical Januah-Crip's summ't conference that fusied.

Mr. Ji nah said that he was not prepared to discuss parity with anyone. He had had great opposition in his own party to accepting the Missian's proposal he defined that the first opposition was failth as proposal decision what to me gone through The into was be had been able to presaulte the Missian Council and Council and Winning Council tee to accept the Statemen was by arong their that he would not our the Internal Council and safe the Missian Longitud had parent with Council was not his own master 30.

A singular contession for linhab yet one he enew would appeal to Crippea. "I was not be pared to much behavior above that free Congress of the door the Interim Government and Congress had accepted be Mission's preparable. Then am selection that Congress accepted, he would of course, be willing to at behavior and the Viceroy and put before them the trained of his nomines with the suggested portforce. "I have not the limits key to rippe for sparing arms of any saving ereign to carry or expertant his ness to a ways insisting upon prior acceptance of a principle he received so a megot strong before taking on the burde; of a face to face needing with the "other sade". Especially were the considered the entropy on that his opposite number.

Jamah new reseased Cripps of how sensible americ sensible 1. activated, having just taken so intransigent a stand on this key issue. He expressed "shock" at having "got an impression" (from whom he does not say) that it was being reported that the League's nominees for the interim government would be "any old prophe from the Muchin League Workin Committee" Jorah insisted "He wanted the hot mon. This was an impurtant matter. . . . He was not going to put up as his nominees people who

were popular or well known in the Muslim League of tary could not do the job. He had many able men in the civil service and he would put some of close on even though no one had ever heard of them. The problem was the right man for the right tol. He was quite prepared to be over the portfolios with N hit and make adjustment with here so to they could get a workable team which was what was modern. It all distributed his image of evaluate condensation in an analysis of the could return to his parity demand, but this time he put the ones of having auminosed "purity" on Congress.

He seemed slightly interested in an idea that had been put to lym of an igne calanct o six wif part, for Congress and the Masam League Scorething hazed on these lines has in the dia out 50 are parets who was Cripps a note to houself and his Mission it agines, for Le was dive's con , g up with such by unit sole jons to what is ryone else found inthe predent types a network this porall and "with insine aafter I of more be been been been sentenced at their second by I allow is a gread-vocace and how open his own cand from a nicitor series of a to nation 'I have now heard I com different sources part from My James that Joseph did procuse the Music Leage Council and Virking Committee that he would not go it o an let it Coverna to those pays believe that he red had have to deal were great dut-I see next a we purk "" Plat cosing a perent so not positivity injuliety, o lorgers position and the pressures under which he was adog H. has we med by a long was trong Nethers and we now ell adgreen met from the sos tion to is not he ages of to soush ast where Jama's aved in its acted tete with the mostons mad heland produce grees member White ratel, and Gold were having regaor a signal impressions on the about or sing as two is the order a who and them a terrately as just aut or post togging hagainst Nahra brought

d them are in the aspect and or nettingging hag, are Nelta broug to a list of lifteen names for the interim council, but only four were from the line first were a mail to have no non-tangues linear one Consider the Court and in Congress worth. Wavellagher informed Schriff that "this list would be quite unacceptable to Mr. Jimah." Not a limit wrived a digare de viceros some names for the Government du large and in "Note referenced that atternoor and "seemed depreased, worked himself up to one outburst about Jimah's refusal to meet Axad and described Jimah as a wrecker "to Later that evening Pates returned and "falked colubly without laters up to any argament and sung a continuous hymn of later against Jimah and the League He said. That to Government formed by the Vicerus would be acceptable." That

day Gandhi wrote to Wavell, urging him to "Dare to do the right" in as any netwern Congress slist of no lances and the League's "You must make your choice of one borse or the other," the Mahatma advised the field marshal "So far as I can see you will never succeed in riding two at the same time. Choose the names submitted either by Congress or the League For God's sake do not make an incompatible mixture and in trying to do so reculted in the limit is over. I hope I have made my meaning clear "Matter when that limit is over. I hope I have made my meaning clear "Matter when that limit is over. I hope I have made my meaning clear "Matter when that limit is over. I hope I have made my meaning clear do not an exceedingly alread obstacted dominating double bingrand, single-unload politician; and there is little true samiliness in

is order the British cabinet considered the "mintary implications". I proposed a archive in local negotiations it ejected a proposal and the service section of the proposal and the second pears of the proposal and the second pears of the second pears of the proposal and southern India and fall back to the second of the second pears the proposal archives a consister a consister and allowed to the second of "and granting against lenkage" the fact that any much allowed to the second of "and granting against lenkage" the fact that any much a second of "and granting against lenkage" the fact that any much a more and characteristics also a be emburked for India."

The anti-meter is epicter forces a policy in plications of are action by I'll Majersy's Government which appears to suggest that we are also also up our position in India" and was warned by Foreign Minister Freet Brotte hat

In New Debu, Britain's cabinet mission continued laboring to put a new or erringoverno in this piace before Ladia's summer heat melted the hearts and indict of howe three exhausted wise men. On June 16, Wavell noted "the Driegation's how (7) attempt to induce the children to play together in a steeled. All this inclustering and hargaining by Congress lass mown their complete may be to take a broad or statemanlike view. Jine not have those up well a comparison," Azad kept resulting him long, de-

tailed, demanding letters. Candhi kept meeting with Pethick Lawrence Nobre with Cripps, Wavell with Junah. They were a going over one or two names on an interior cabinet that never met-designed to keep a land of 400 million from drowning in an ocean of blood and poverty. Was it that itl of them inderstood now hopeless a task they would face onen tiey agreed to take power. Wave I was bored sick of them all by now no adang Jumah, with whom he reported a not very pieasa is in ervice on June 19 common ang "The more I see of these lad on policians, the more I He said that the Working Committee were meeting des acro India for ght but and ated that he through we were being sets weak with Congress and gaing was to them on every part, and that at house t was hen , a build lown sevend enders it I will gave in the viression of her a retain depressed and tired, and of feeling that he had been rather let down. "Il

Copps was prepared to ask |much "for a list of mains" to an ertire interior severa is I Congress opter to report the master so and stavely however word her reverse of going Junean responsible control using the whole (a rumout He would geter to ask I so to come in my he has a that he would get the same share as he workpuscul It response by for his late a Government wend by the Yn rows and John world not be Prime Mais et age of he offer led coros who the spreyed his alto a pay the gain as we, as any other other of lidner and Cripps respended that it seemed to be a reasonable but this is with he've he opper Can't of expressing as views as to the imposition of all Contin at a mode les out the serve or reasonable terms but why was tim we should then ask Congress to I man Cover ment The Vicerry said as ould not agree He would eather have a Covernment of officials." The first ford I according a good with Wall I Perbuck Lawrence "seer rath sed somewhat at Sirs copps and did not want a ree long while over he vice in the dien'el a care t choosing Jimnal he would have to consult Attlee and his colleagues back home

The mission met with Nehru, Azad, Patel, and Rajendra Prasad on Sundar June 23. Pethick Lawrence explained that be and his colleagues "quite met and the program while Cargains at ashed the recognition of discriminate character, but they did hope that in this purioular instance Longress would see their way not to make a demand for the incussion of a Mission among the Congress representatives in the Interim Government, though without in any way creating a precedent or approving a principle "as Nehru protested that "the Delegation appeared to start with the precomption that progress could only be made with the on-operation of the Multin League. The Congress disagreed," Cata, a freed to argue that Can

. ross Mos as being in inded in provincia governments, sufficed to dem-. s te the "national character of Congress" but Vehru would not budge. a won of Patel or Azad Pethick Lawrence i te cogentiv remarked that

The greatest obstacle to Incha going forward towards independence was the inability to get started. . . Suppose that the Congress representatives persuaded the Delegation to agree to the inclusion of a Congress Muslim. If that occurred he did not believe that Mr [inran would accept it, and there would be no Coalition Government He behaved it was really in the best interests of Congress and of Inthe to act courageously and to begin by accepting the conditions under which a coalition would be possible. A solution of the comand aroblem in India had to be found, and for the parties to work together on practical problems provided the best hope.40

The vision of Lettliek Lawrener's first pica made no positive impact how I see all that the aders of Cangress to discenseckand a solua d a comme at wollen for nite ears but last always been and a livida a guarrelas to reorgize an, Me as who s p in a fin tout me in the Congress contemps despreshese Manie who are a so" For arteed that it capit late on this pour sould fur it . Ye and of the to great Bt. Jan 25 this of origins According to and explore a next the appears plan at the had a man a green a green reservator a sout The toritation of the Control authority, as contoined in the proposals, as well as the system of are applying of Provinces,"66

"We are now precluded from trying to form an Interim Government are I set paters the M or Legar but without that of the Corin the British the conserved acoust the cost on after receiving the Chrigress response, "and Congress will cleam that in any fresh attempt all the or ginal bases and the assurances given to Mr. Jinnah have disupprared We have in fact been outmanocurred by the Congress and this ability of Congress to twist words and phrases and to take advantage of uny of p in worthing is what Mr. Jinoah bas all along feared, and has been the reason for his diffic it attitude. The success of the Congress, which he wil feel ma been mainly due to their continuous contacts with the Misston . will merease his dutriat, noth of the Congress and the Missian. one of the Viceroy . . . Tempers are trayed, the Muslim League feel that they have been betrayed and the Congress feel that they have gained an advanage of which they will not be now to make capital. To Wavell would such he eft to form a caretaker government of officials, an afternative far

more congenial to his nature and experience than trying to preside over a coalition cabinet would have been

SIMIA REVISITED (1940)

That evening the Mission and Wavell met with I mult to show him the Congress resolution. That final meeting lasted almost three hours it if after 8-00 pas Wave I informed Jinnah that he would appoint a "carretaker gire ernment" for a "short prerval" and they could go ahead with the Const tuent Assembly and constitution-making during that over ude since the catapet mission was returning to England Jamah was horough a snocked by what he heard, asking 'Dur he is constand that the Delegation do not now wish to form an Interim Government! He and understind there of one party rejected the offer of June 16th we should go beau with the other

The Masson League had accepted. Mr Jamah sar in dis ked the suggestion for a postponement of the question of the Interior Covernnext the thought twas had for he prestig of the Delegation and also for his own prestige it would destroy both " How oge viating that moment of "truth" must have been for him how trustent in after all these ears all these decades. Once incred he told best yet Still now quite rends for you bit Next me all, perhaps or next year. Wou lie is another cere It was a declorable interview thavel reported noting that I was to horned y to the time we got down to real business ever mood accused us of had talt a aut. I give ig was to Congress as d considered that he should be given the appartunity of catering the C'n CONTRACTO TO

Next day. Alexand r were round to see Jimeah to tell him how "mixious" In was not to 'part with bird ter ings between hem. But I man's teeling if the justing empaths, and to st for the British and all they had a ways tood for sing his first trip to London, would now thus e be put back together again-after that fatal fall.

Bombay to London (1946)

there is no sufficient power create that priver final charged his beggie council to Bombay in alle July. "All efforts of the Muslim Lengue that day posters have been covered by atom and presents have been responsed to the council of the Congress. The Cobre Miss in have placed not the idea of the Congress. They have been a quarter-century later, by about the British whose postivar professions on light those postivar professions on light them to "play" into Congress a hand.

"Throughout these negotiations the Cabinet Mission and the Vicerovwere inder rerror and threats of the Congress," Jimaah told his 450 folliwers, who were packed into a sweltering hall crowded with members of the press, both foreign and domestic as well as delegates from every

arovines.

The Cabinet Dolegation and the Viceroy—have gone back on their plighted word and abandoned what was announced as their fluid, pro lossle. Congress really never accepted the long-term plan. Its conditional acceptance was communicated to the Cabinet Mission by the Congress Pres Jent on June 25. . . . The Cabinet Mission like a drowning man ready to catch bold of a straw treated this conditional acceptance . . . as genuine . . . Pandit Jawaluszial Nebra as the elected President . . . at a Press conference in Bombay on J. b. 10. mans the policy and attitude of the Congress nowards the long-turn proposal clear . , that the Congress was committed to nothing — What is the use of freage-ang things and drecusing?

I and convened at rounce to re-examine "the whole position" in the ight of finites or while region and of Congress's deliance of the League

and rejection of the mission's plan. I can tell you this without fear of contradiction that of the three parties throughout the negotiation the Missim League behaved as an hopomishle organization." Jimah assured his backers. "We worked with clean hands. The Muslim League is the only party that has energed from these negotiations with honor and clean hands." Clean hands had liwars been a prime value to bin, and they seemed then he symbolize a positival pergeons final preparation before entering the operation, from where the hopelessh six pataint by waining or be the Northing short of results largers would suffer when ever he great British mission went beek or its words. Sowed down and paralised? Despite a Congress which had not their "decency" nor "any sense of honour and course."

All these facts nave clears her ind a shadow of doubt." Quard c-Azar contributed that the individual in of India's problem is Pakistar. So ong as the Congress, and Mr. Gailly, ha also that the represent the whole of India. So long as they dere in the congress and the fact that the representation is the Mishir La again as the only authoritative organ adults in the Mishirst and so for gas they continue in this victous sincle here can and with an occupromise or freedom. ... Mr. Gandhi now speaks as a universa, adsider. It has been that the Congress in the triver of the slope of India. We have enough experience of one trust in that has been refer for 150 years. We do not want it. Congress to become on truster by lave now grown up the interestion of the Mishir and allow.

Int only now account Crippe of trying to which out of suple definitions in his Commerce talk about he assion resorting "to agglery a words and misleading the house and adding it what for hannes was perhans the deepest cut of all. I am some to sex that, Sn. Stafford Copps debased his legal burnts. To Pethick Lawrence who had not on all concons House of Lords that he hands could not have a monopore + M is in Non-nation. Jurnaly should ", in not strade I am not asking for subjects to la oil not as I leggling and haggling set a campa. His flores rejection of the busiless of his fathers and in a commercial community underscores how I tree I be elt the diere als of the negotiations that ended the DESSION I'vert what their Muslies, for your commerce trade and deterration of notices rub inspure and were be had promy professed Large I that + hagging a gas" with smeles, Surv. mallan. the bands and the health common within had an arte linkes how to Carlo day Lacron by its Mit Dora T. M. electrical and addition was shattered, swept away by torrents of self-interest that gashed from See a make to the place of the stand

of femiliated despuir

Next day the Muslim League council met to consider over a dozen resolutions that had been tab ed by members, try og to donde "what steps" ic L. gro should take a view "of the Cabinet Mission having gone back on their word," as Jimah told them. Luquat Ali read each of the resolu-- s on id. and men general aist resion beggin, lasting two whose days The rest of us is frankly to admit that we made a mistake in according a I may if some sort proposed at the Scheme and go back to our Pakistan a urged 50. Firoz khan N 10. The net of washing his a the total rejection of the constitutional proposals . . , let there be one guiding beacon before us-a fully sovereign, separate State of Pakistan." Maulana II. It Mohami rose to short arindst will cheming. If the Quaid Azam and a give I sword, the Masacas of India will use a revolt at a morunt's "office." Other manishus, khans, and meliahs resternted those chants, are to preclamather A promoted that "If Mr Jame's gove the call Misone for I a like of lift would come forward to carry as the struggle for be all imment of Pakatan"

TINISAH OF PARISTAN

On July 29, 1948, Jinnah and his Working Committee presented two wide a discontracted on after hearing the commit openions. The first wines a large acceptance of the saturate a smooth May proposals the sentential charted the League's course of future direct action.

Whereas Muslim India has exhausted, without success, all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and consellectional means, and whereas the Congress is bent upon acting 1 = 11 a. Aa in Indian with the count where of the Birtish, and whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice, and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs, and whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rost contented with anything less than the connected exhibitshment of an Independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan . The true has come for the Missim nation to resort to Direct Action to white Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated to time Castr II alla domination.

After both reso utions were enthusiasheally adopted, Jinnah concluded. We have taken a most historic decision, Never before in the whole life-haviny of the Missim League did we do novihing except by constitutional mothods and constitutional mothods and constitutional mothods and constitutional mothods and broad tubonic talks. We are his-day forced into this position by a move in which both the Congress and Britain have participated. We have been attacked on two fronts. Tacday we have said good-live to cast to constitute of constitutional actions. Throughout the pointful registroness, the two participath who who we hargesized held a posted at us, one with

power and machine guns behind it, and the other with non-or operation and the threat to launch mass civil disobedience. This situation must be met. We also have a pistol."

Pethok Lawrence urged Wavell to meet Jumah as soon as possible and to "press lime even now" to permit members of the Musha. League to join an intermicoshirion government with Congress. Wore! underestabled Jumah's ange, and the imminence of viocent League action. He wired home on diagust I that their was "no indication of any in rediste accompt at a mass movement" and asked Pethock Lawrence to inform the cabinet that "it would not be advasable to send for Jinnah immediately. . If I send for Jinnah a once at will be regarded as a paneks mattern to a threat and will put up Jinnah's stock. . . I should propose to leave Jinnah alone. "So the game continued, move by Machiavellian move.

After the League council had over a correspondent for the Dath, Telegraph interviewed limin to use what he meant ty direct actions " and Jiroch is fest repelled that "their would be a tass height account, but when the correspondent showed him the text of living a theorem is right once in ling or some Jiminh charged legal" of missit doual", heads secretary reported that the Wiking Collington set the data of a larger Modern limit for Firsher Augus 16 1946. The victories depict private secretary task a strike had "possibilities of working by mass bester to get Wiking to account to the data of the control double when to do "10 has no real tiden when to do "10.

On August 6 1946, with Pethick Lawrence's approx. Which wrote Nebro as present of the Congress morting on "to section to a present of the Congress morting on "to section to a will be for you of most or the formation of a line of the control of the test of th

BOMBAY TO LONDON (1946)

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That was August 15...946 precisely one year before the birth of India and Pakistan. Nehru responded the same afternoon from Bombay, "I see prepared to come to your place at 6 p.m."

After their meeting, Nahru reported to Wavell that he had "offered Jinass on ones" that no "major consumal same" would be acted upon in a safe and asses bly except by a major yof soft parties, that any dispersion is any for he referred to the federal court for degreen and that all he Congress cid not be the heart grouping and preferred autonomics for a myunces where the world not oppose grouping by promose for a myunces where the world not oppose grouping by promose for a myunces where the ded in section at the Misha League at on cabuse to transfer but did in section at the Misha League at on cabuse to transfer but did in section to the congress in a section of transfer but did in section to the Congress in a section to the condition of the section of the secti

"There was a curious stillness in the air" over Calcutta, Major L. A. Living a more in that he is the more action in a personal flag from that he is tack more action in the more action in the more action. A living a series of the Househ live and the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is a more action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is action in the more action in the more action in the more action. The more action is action in the more action in the

communal trouble started as early as 7 am, in Manktolia area in north-rast Calcutta and has continued and spread throughout the day," Covernor Burrows wired Wayel, that night

Struction up to 6 p.m. is that there have been numerous and wides resin communal clasher, accompanied by some looting of shops actors. Weapons corptived appear to have been chiefly brick and the firm is no ber of cases that gine have been used by members at both amount, this and some cases of stableong have been reported.

. A marked feeling of panic, especially among Hindu traders in north Calcutta, has been feature of situation since early in the day and has given rise to many wild reports far exceeding actualities.
. . Disturbances so far have been markedly communal and not, repeat not, in any way anti-British.¹⁵

Lieutenant general Sir Francis Tuker in charge of Iudia's eastern command, received into ligence reports that Suhrawards told "an immense Muslim crowd gathered round Oct.terlons's Monagen tha acception that

the Cabinet Mission was a hulf, and that he would see how the British could as Mr. Notice rule Bengal Directed on Day would prove to be the first seep towards the Muslim struggle for emancipation. He advised them to return home early and said that he had made an arrangements with the price are with any not to the fere with them. Our intelligence partiol noticed that the crowd included a large number of Muslim goondas, houdlums], and that . . , their ranks . . . swelled as soon as the meeting ended. They made for the shopping centres of the town where they at once set to work to look and burn Hindu shops and houses. . . At 4.15 p.m. Fortreas H.Q. sent out the codeword "Red" to indicate that there were inci-

Certew was proclaimed in the "motsullerter districts at 8:00 mm, but he 5:00 mm when the area commander called in the 1th Worcestins and Include Howards from their on a doke in the notion they found to doke from Market all are led the from minuses and shops compared seaked in Amberts Street the 1th of minus locking in many Road the error of wounded will thought to the transfer for the grown and in the consist was all the consist with a stable of Minus locking in the consist was a to many locking and the error of wounded with the consist of the stable of the field were for the constable poor time own as a literates of those too weak to detend their property from the looter the vulture of the mob."

"rebraisty's killings had shocked us all but this was different." General I sker noted, "It was unbridled savagery with homicidal maniacs let loose to kill and kill and to main and burn. The underword of Calcutta was taking charge of the city... The police were not controlling it Daylight showed not a sign of bus or tast rick-shaws were battered and burnt, there were no means for clerks to get to their work. All the more die men hashing about the town ... rinters carrying loaded stecks and sharpened from hars. It was obvious hat their mood was there gift dangerness. It was obvious hat their mood was their glish dangerness.

pouce . . . slow to get out of their vehicles and before they had come into not on three people were beaten down and lay dead on the road.**18

On Monday, August 19, one of Major Livermore's platoons removed 150 dead hodies from a single street crossing

The stench in this area had become appalling and one citizen was so gretefu, for the removal of at least part of the cause that he pressed two bottles of champagne on the plateon responsible. . . . At about 8 p.m. that night we received orders that the man streets at least must be clear of bodies by the time the curfew lifted at 4 a.m. next morning. Stench masks and gas capes would be sent to aid us in lifting the decomposing copyses, the location of Muslim burial grounds and H.ndii hurning ghats would reach us as soon as possible. . . . "How the hell do I tell a Missim from a Hindu when they've all been dead three days?" . . It took two more days and nights to finish my town area—a total of five hundred and seven corpuses in the one Company sector most of which came from a locality less than four hundred vards square. . Already there was a threat of a cholera

the many experience of the corpses posed so serious a threat to C-I to the thing to the control of the control

Except for the occasional band of British troops the city was literally a City of the Dead. — All the streets were well lit showing the rolling poles of humanity and rubbish. Handcarts were piled high with heles and had been left abandoned at the carb-side. — . Once it was known that the mad Engashmen were collecting the dead more sodies appeared from the abyrinth of houses and hoyels. — All aght the borr blo task went on. 10

No one knows exactly how many people were shughtered during the test Calontia Killing, but Ceneral Tuker estimated the toll ran "into notacids." Unofficial sources cialmed that as many as 16,900 Bengalis were rurered between August 16-20, 1946, and many times that number fed over the bridge across the Hughi, which for days remained "a one-way current of men, women, cialdren, and domestic animals headed toward the Howard refrond station." Margaret Bourke-White reported. Finding the trains could not carry there all, the people settled down to wait out to concrete floor, dividing themse was automatically into Hudia and Mindings." It was no y the beginning of partition.

On August 2), Waye an formed Pethics Lawrence that "the present estimate" of case notice was 3,000 cead and 7,000 reported Longress was

"convinced that all the trouble was deliberately engineered by the Muslin-League Ministry" but the ""emy had as of seen no safe actory by mice to that effect." The latest estimate of casualties was that "appreciably more Minlims than Handles were killed." ""

Jinnah was asked about the Great Calcutta Killing by a foreign news agency later in August and replied:

if Congress regimes are going to suppress and persecute the Missalmans, it will be very difficult to control disturbances. . . In my opinion, there is no alternative except the outright establishment of Pakistan. . We guarantee to look after non-Muslim and Hindu caste-minorities in Pakistan, which will be about 25 minions, and protect and safeguard their interests in every way. . . That is the quickest w. t. Ind. s. real face some and to the well-are and happiness of all the peoples inhabiting this sub-continent.

Two days after Wavel's broadcast Joreah acronic entitle. To viceroy has attack a severe blow to the Meshor league and Muslem India but I are that the Muslems of India we had to severe all forested and courage and have become stem out I are to severe out us a common able pusition in the interim Government. . . I still maintain that the step be had cover a most covers and unstatesimanlike and as fraggle art a language and an action cota puriose and instances that the step be had as a more cota puriose and unstatesimanlike and as fraggle art a language and an action cota puriose and he had so only added a set of pury as normaling three Max are such to be known do no command. There the respect of confidence of Muslim Inda ***

Mare I now experient to Nehru and Gandhi to accept a new formula on runging, real-ring not to convent the constituent assembly all they did no. "Several times last evening." Gandhi wrote the viceroy on Aunor 28.

con repeated that you were a "plain man and a soldier" and that you did not know the law. We are all plain men. . . It is our purpose, I take it, to device methods to prevent a repetition of the recent terrible happenings in Calcutta. The question before us is how heat to do it. Your language last evening was aboutory. As representative or

the King you cannot afford to be a military man only, nor to agone the law. Nor can the Congress be expected to bend itself and most what it considers a wrong course because of the brutal exhibition recently witnessed in Bengal. . . . I say this neither as a Hindu nor as a Muslim. I write only as an Indian. Ton will please convey the whole of this letter to the British Cabaset.

The see givene on ty Candhi to my suggestion that Congress should be assumed about the Grouping categorical shows how well ustable it has was to consider a resource assumers of the subject. Waveness it is Law encourse has coverenter meaning Gardh ormstock and it go "It is to any mind convincing evidence that Congress always meant to the their position to the Interim Government to break up the Muslim and a tenth of the Congress always meant to be one offsets exadeposed for the Mashes. The secretary of the distant the Congress are vides pread on the Mashes. The secretary of the distant the Congress are vides pread on the mash two the Peter Ki awreage with a respective for the same time was mash ask you not to take any time which is a constant of the resign and see a registed flaving afaits stoned. I make the sensing that to work in humans with Nehru would prove more go ling and was congressal.

"And long as Jinna's fuels he can get his veto through the Viceroy, he will be a signification of the local control of the local contro

A tew days later on September I, the eve of Congress taking over the 4-ert i government, communal rioting rocked Bondbry as Missim houses all along Samals not Robo Bow black flags of mourning. Curfew was imposed troups were called out, but in that one organize night of violence 35 movers lifed and 175 opt end, Sporodic rioting in Bombay would be a for ever a week, and by September 10 more than 200 Handas and Maddins were used as a result of communal storage. There was violence in Kacac, as well, but League premier Smitch Gholain Bussian broadcast as appear for earn and bulerance" which helped subdire Missian positions in the city. "The horrors of Colentan have begotten an attribute of suffernment with a high partial moves a profit on the other." Shills limits

chief secretary reported, noting that both communities were busy surreptitionally arming themselves.²¹

The "door to Porna Swaraj has at last been opened," Mahatma Gandhi told his prayer meeting at Birla Heuse in New Delhi, on September 2, 1946 as their transovered king, Javasharlal," and his codeagnes took oaths of office in that flower decked capita. Netro was now a rhading the prime manster of India and he placed Po et in charge of tooke affairs, police and Baldey Singh in charge of defence (or war). "A new Government capit up bring in this agreet than Nebru broadcast from New Desh a few days later, "the Interim or Provisional Covernment we called it.".

In a class one and certificate of was a facility better than the transport of the plat cycle of account in and suffering. She is vouthful agent with the bright cycle of account in and with faith in herself and her mission?

On September 8, Wavell "very urgently" transmitted his "breakdown plan for learned to the how where sile after, had we could be given the a role of le had to more thou a work and o hot "at The visions is per of withdrawal tepended, as he put it on a wolute firmness by it. M.G." and Wavel requested into smoot to a role is his part in our letter transmit and its to know that the learned, were ready a put is through barache and for the with select este officials five given by through harache and for the with select este officials five given by through harache and for the with select este officials five given to be a public of through the color of the letter of the selection of the selecti

Wave the d with J moths old friend Soro at Neda, on September 10 and we had a leng talk an judice and of an received of gening judical and the MLs. In and the difficulties of Jinnah's character Mrs. N price of Jinnah's character Mrs. N price of Jinnah rather as at Laurier a filter as get, one was hard once in sect to be a great rather of indian freedom, but who had cost howerful of the Congress heaven."

Pic $Dosh_c$ Mat_c whose correspondent in Bombay interviewed jamal, reported his remarking.

The world is too deep and the negotiations have led to too much of the carbon and the control of the state must be wheel clean and we must begin from the beginning again. I shall never plend my case but were the British Government in anytic me to London to start a new series of conferences on an equal footing with other negotiators. I should accept, . If the British hast on doing authing more than support the present reterior. Converiment with their bisyonets all I can say is the Mosloms can endure it. If they want to accept me now I am ready to go to prison to needlestely the

With nots in Bondian Cancutta smoothering, and Nehra maning the show in New Delhi, the prospect of a visit to London most have looked quite appending to Jonah through sultry appasson haze atop Malaba. Hill Or d not London, who not prison? Rather me extreme if glors or the other than the limbo of obscure uncertainty, cut off from power, from the glitter of the vicerous magnetic cle where he had once held center stage and from the almost mention of Makistan, which harms anyone mentioned nowadays except with a shudder or shrug.

The vicercy met alone with Jianah on September 18 for seventy-five mounts, and earlier to scarce day with Venre and Pate 2011, of when 0.8 ked his overfrees to Jianah Congress acadersha, be now maintacked Wessel and advorsa before a lawer of crippy and Attler to remove his free power case on a his corost too supportive a. Mishin Leage demands a changerouse trasterly a nackground to draining to the resolution of states within an actival proteins. The case art in the above, and of its cases is the affair tookness which are read to take of titles. It is not not supported to take of titles are inside in the supported assembly on December 5. By which time he vicercy opped a settlement with the League wound to rounded.

The mission ministers met with Attlee at 10 Downing Street on September 23 to consular the receive beneates a pain. The prime master as pressed "strong objections" to Wavell's proposals, which he consider a district Cripps agreed, saying that "the moment our withdrawal was announced everyone in India would start scrambling for position...

Civil was would come upon us at once "Me He favored convening the westituent assembly at once, with or without the Muslim League. Pet Lawrence felt that "the Viceroy's proposal would make an admir or visible breakdown a certinity" Attlee could not understand why Wavell was breakdown as certinity "Attlee could not understand why Wavell was to abandon Madras and Bombay, "two of the best places from which to withdraw Europeans," beaving the British troops to hold "the most coult part of India" where "an attempt to set up Pakistan . . , would cassetty, was "

Wavell spent almost two bours with Januah on September 25, report to him "very quiet and reasonable" and "awitous for a settlement if it can is done without loss of prestige." Jinuah hoped Congress would refrain as a "gesture of good-will" from appointing any Muslim, and he was into the rotating the vice-president's position in the cabinet with Nehra. The next afternoon, Nehra and Gaarlis came in tandom, each taking for a hour with the vice-president is no they do not want Jinuah the Lasgin to, and Candhi at the end exposed Canginas pulsey of done is

bon more nakedly than ever before. The more I see of that old man," Wavell arimited, the more I regard him as an anscrupt out old hypocrite."58

By October I, Wavell was convinced that "it is no use trying to squeeze the Congress am fur her on the nationalist Muslim assue." The viceroy ther decided his "test tactive world be to "make I musl samps of give me five names for the Muslim scats." It was in the "obvious interest of the Muslim League" to come into the government as soon as possible Wavell now believed.

So Wavell met Jinnah next day and spelled out his strategy for bringing the League into the interior government. Mr. Jo nall sold nothing of all on or national st Musiar issue and did not attempt to argue it the viceros at d. but he said that if he was to have der the consucress will be Norking Compation as large so a size set a switten on the other is not be had raised. World explained that the entition of his suce-Tresident was to president that are all accordings in mindisence and that round arrang for the leader of the Max par ty to be a somed as vigo-Dairman of the C.C.C., which was really a more influential position."40 t understood well liow rappy at might a at restige were to I with a nd and clearly revealed here the improductived provers rot in a second All as governor general By the sound their meeting he "got the hapression" that Jinnah was "anxious" to "come in." Jinnah, moreover, by then has base been at least and a spressed at how much the appear a world do I as the League's come a my man and a gentlement to be bru Poted ad the others as do the vace egal of modeling mas of Della and Sama

Whether it was Wavell's ardor in wooing him or Jinnsh's current frustrums at having missed the mader angle of the minoring particular trained by it with so much seeming power and pump time October were toos in been oblined and pump time October were toos in been oblined mission for three months earlier in the year Perhaps if the trage sobering reality of an Orient Comma kinning and the thousand noise or less orients an opationed or his own observating to it that the him do tall not firstlike at realiting a settlement that was a bring the League into an interim condition government with Congress an a record-breaking more two weeks of negotiation. Nor did Nehru and Congress court hum or pander to his ego. Such negative signals from old advertation may have served only to convince Jinnah that it was indeed, high to sentife excess buggings and climb aboard while there was the night to realth and a ships master to welcome him so warmly

The nawab of Bhopal, Janual's old friend and chance for of the Chamber of Princes since 1944 then entered the act (or "slaved in a rather intensive one," as Wavell put 330, inviting Janual and Nobre to meet to but

phase to discuss their residual differences. I have consulted some of invicodeagues about the matters discussed by its yesterday," Nehru wrote Jinah on October 8.

We all agreed that nothing could be happier and better for the country than that these two organisations [Congress and the League] would meet again as before, as friends having no mental reservations and bent on resolving all their differences by mutual consultation, and never desiring or allowing the intervention of the British Government through the Viceroy or some other. We would wrisfore welcome the decision of the League to join the interim the connector of the work as a unsted team on behalf of india as a wide *2.

Note that the notifier of profession and concerns he had with carrons in as an observe a proof to the respect to property in Jeach respectively. When regard to the profession is a second to the profession of th

Last, to be very world secret root be as ast received as like a strong world secret root be as ast received as last to a strong and secret root be as as as a strong world secret by a strong world as as a strong world secret be as a strong world agree the strong world never no second root as as a strong world agree the strong world never no second root as as a strong world as as a strong world as as a strong world world world as a strong world wor

The vicercy had what he called "a crucial interview with Jinnah" the next afternoon, when he learned that the League was reach to join the interior government but that Janah was going to pitch "a surprise fast half at Cangress by proposing a member of the Scheduled (Untoucliable) Can'e as one of his five "Mushim" sinces for the colonel. "I said that it would look after like at for tat," Waved noted, "a counter to the gress nonunition of a nationalist Muslim, and would therefore be rate as in convergence to me. I gathered that the months had in went

to nominate was at present a Minister o Benga. "44] N Mandal was then numster of law in Bengal, an advocate whose greatest attraction to the League appears to have been that he was born "untouchable" Junian persons,'s decided a remain oidside, caving Liaquat to head his party's team with 1 1 Choudingar of Pombay Abdur Rah Nishtar from the fronner and Chazantar Ali Khan of the Pumah to complete the League's inter a govern, all state. Vehicle dropped two of his Musicias. Sharaat Khan, and svec Zaheer and Subhas Bose's arctiver Sarat Bose from his cabinet thes mixing room for Jounal's choices. The new viol ion was official, announced in October 15 But as communal noting spread from Benga, to the North West Front er t Congress League coal from was off to a most on arrays start. A major star bogs block was that the League has sted on press plong at least one of the claser most powerful abrust positions. for an affairs house or deteace held by Nober Patel and Bulary Struck, respectivel. Congress was a malting outstry sharp a those jobs Nehr. was also sport about reports it a speech as speech a speech and earlier is karael, on October 3) when he reportedly said the Legger has decided to enter the government because "Lyigh is no Is leart was adverse to the Lyagie's creto and that as before Midos in steeriting to prepare a flight for the worms, of the r goal- Pakistan "C Nebra demand if retreation of both tements and winted antication of the Longue's long rongs into tions as well as a definite assistance by their that there will be cooperat on and tear work 48 W well team that Congress resorted I has all they can to or on the League combig . " Nebra bud out it business that Con-I swas read to turn over finance then readed in South India; Christhe relational Mattan, to the League A harred Wavell innsted whatever the outcome, that "I must . . . come home at once for consultation "

On the event g of Oct her 24 News configure that Congress and deoiles to reagn a Patel's Hoper-ministry portfolio event to the Long of The wherever called in Januah at 7.30 P.M. to ask if he would accept finance.

J. was not in a very accommodating mood, . . . but he agreed . . . with the usual proviso that it was subject to the decision of his Working Committee I then sent for Nehra at 9.30 p.m. and told him that the League would accept Finance, and asked him to let me know what alternative portfolio be proposed for Mattha. Nehru, who looked very tired and worn, socepted this quietly, and said he would let me know after consisting his colleagues . Nether party has the least tenst in the other. It is all very wearing and for almost the first time in my 1 le 1 am really beginning to feel the strain budly not absorping properly and letting these wrotched people worry me. **

The new members of the government were aworn in October 26, but here would be no narmony or the spirit of unity in that short aved central government, admit permitted himself to be persisted by Waself to pure no only in a factice strategom to an time for the League to marshal at 4s forces gathering strength in his brief period of see any cooperation of b Congress or the first phase the hast charge that period his of partition to Pakistan. There was no reconciliation, no solution to the disc of fundamenta materials aspection text and halred. Too makes an half been let too many kayes buried too many backs too many to have along also have been also many on routed are matures words too many and rapid door many on routed see their first or arrational hat of the see thouse of their communical acigsbors in the house or village next door.

the soluted legislance assembly and on October 29 with New and Popular ACAI on stated are by ordered the governments from the range of solute and action of the sattlet as and a AMA me had us overland as each other a day. They sattlet us and a AMA me had us overland as each other a pressure of a country, fearing, and distrusting one another. Next morning Nebru this to the sex maded hore by a pressure than overwork chough us an are had been gruening. Jinnah spent over an hour with Wavell on October 30, and the viceropy found but "at his most Jinnah-fash."

I let us tish tory " "cour & r. panh G at I toper he wound to the us tish tory." "cour & r. panh G at I toper he wound to the a at the sex statement was a condition of the Largues as a new or affirm at the country was a condition of the Largues as a me or affirm at the country was a condition of the Largues as a me or affirm at the country was a condition of the Largues as a me or affirm at the country was a condition of the Largues as a me or affirm at the country was a condition of the Largues as a me or affirm at the country was a condition of the Largues as a me or affirm at the country was a condition of the largues as a mean or affirm at the country was a condition of the largues as a mean and the country was a condition of the largues as a mean and the country was a condition of the largues as a mean and the country was a condition of the largues as a mean and the country was a condition of the largues and the country was a condition of the largues and the country was a condition of the country was

by the Lougue's council in Bombay

Why, I new artice. Governor Burrows warned the vicercy that he could not "early Benga." for more than one more year Nehru and Patel, and Linquat and Nishtar flew to Calcutte early in November to see for themsal es how the area of repoles as a semily Burrows bracked the marrival, nothing out that the army had been directing traffic in the streets in Calcutta for approximately ten weeks, while trade was "singualing" and withers as well as businessmen were "very injuriously affected." Bengal, with 33 million Muslims and 25 million Bradus, desperately needed an "all-party government" to help bring "tranquillity" to the province, yet no odd on was even being discussed. Nehra and Linquat could hardly according the Benga, however what they found impossible to the arming the medices in New Defu.

Governor Sr. Hogh Dow of Bihar reported his 'appreciation' of the concentral right in his province on November 9, by which time mue hat

takions of troops had been ordered into the rural regions most seniously affected "Roying Hindu mobs have sought to exterminate the Moslem population wherever they could find them." wrote the governor "Almost all casualties have been Moslems and it is estimated that of these 75% have been women and children."

Down headlined a mid-November interview given by Jinnah to the foreign press on its front page, "ABSOLUTE PARTETAN THE CREEK SOLUTION," TO porting:

Muslim League President Quedie Azam Muliammed Ali Jimnah declared... that in his view "the only solution" to India's present communal situation "is Paleistan and Hindustan,"... anything else would be artificial and unnatural... Of the Interim Government, Mr Jinnah said... the Muslim League Ministers were there "as sentinets" who would watch Muslim interests in the day to day administration... Asked if he favoured abandoning the Interim Government, Mr Jinnah replied "I have said this It was forced upon us. The present arrangement I don't approve of "!!"

Congress as sted and Pethick Lawrence agreed, that the constituent axis is must be called on December 9, as plannes Official is tations were usued, and soon after, on November 21 tracial led off with "Tho North Sections to trank that the pray of trainled on it is aged with only but I Hambet be has summaned the Constructor Assembly to meet allowed the Model League's decision not to part pate for 18th stands. There are reasons to believe that he has been moved into this decision by Congress pressure. For some days asked a form the whole them. Whatever his gallantry on the battlefields intight have been, be seems to have put that virtue in cold storage along with his Field-Marshall symform."

Warell mer with all four Mus in League members of the cannot that infermoun, and "League put to me quite blantly the question whether I and the Majests's Covernment intend of to keep order in Ird a and protest canonias while we remained here or not the said that the responsibility was still ours, but that we were not carrying if out . . . I felt bound to bonesty to tell them that our ability to carry out our responsibility had regardly weakened. Since the British Government had autounced its estentian of handing over power in India shortly, we could not expect the same degree of co-operation and support from the officials and police that we formerly enjoyed. The recent troubles had shown that the police in many parts of India were affected with communication and were no linger to a reflect on fur firm action against their near community.

Jimmah announced to the press on November 22 that "No representative to I is Musicon League will part cipate in the Construent Assemble. Wavel is that Laquat next day and "argued" with him for over an hour, trying a persuade his mannes member to get his party to attend the assembly. "I note of a cd to convince him. Wave I would pethod Lawrence. "Is I and previously failed... with Jimmah." It was finally clear to Lord Wivell that his last great push, getting the League into government, was if by a Pyrthic victory. Nothing had changed.

The secretary of state invited Wavell to return home at more with two coes two es or he Congress and two from the League to discuss the or cartia on and seek a new settlemen for the The viceros suggested the up a Sac, proposing Baldey Sough, his left to may her Nobin conat a dagges on the Working Compatter and on bohalf of Compress. turner flown the invitation. Bolder also declined a day later linnah, howwas peared to accept any greed to as a Longot will be per and il con attlee then were personal appeal to Schra, peading with I to unider to be per this way to prose rapic and smooth pauliess Livinds the goal of Laan Frequent " Calagress met again for a full in its issue and the right and saldes being decided ingo to London after all (I) he eve of their departure, Lunah changed his mind after learning N. La. ed ladder were money. What is impossible set of people they are?' Wavell noted. "I sent Ian Scott off to see Linquet, and by midare imported that we mad got this far that his not had agreed to some with us to Karachi tomorrow to see Jinnah and try to petsuade 1. 1 to come "on The next day when they flow from Delhi, Linquat was "Grossed for Europe." Jinnah received a midnight cable from Attlee, perand seeingt a recome and nough "caller late he finals of had amount the vicercy's plane in Karneh: The crowd that had come to see I on off at the airport shouled "Pakistan Zindabad."

20

London-Final Farewell (1946)

London in December was cold, wet and blook How redolent it east bases seen of his first arrival their fifts four verts ago, so each had banged vot so cann feelings were the same John will fire ook at didner out off from all those who outer loved him forced out in fight measurems hatties with based strongers all of who is wanted to their him of the same is, rose flowed fifteent and free anneal with the company of Shakespear as the practice with whom he had performed cars ago. The outputs he time red with the company of Shakespear as the practice with whom he had performed cars ago. The outputs he time red with the company he time red with the performed had become if any or his black Johnshirap but the rest of the company gray coat.

wavell had propaged a "top secret" note for discussion with the caunet whire the tree. Bethock Lawrence and Alexander of the seart of hear meeting on December 3.

cresent situation is that Congress feel the 15 MC dare not break at 1. Iron galess they do something quite outrageous. There are is possible after wheel the tink they can deed with both Musims and Process the former by bribery, blackmail, propagands, and if necessary force; the lutter by stirring up their people against them, as well.

We see you. We at faint are need a turcheon for Junah that easy with a consection between the law eyes extend Junah was still harping" on the solutions betrayal.

Hel feels very litterly that he should have been allowed to form a Government when Congress turned down the short torm plan. He

vehemently sucks to the view that Congress have never accepted the long-term plan, never meant to accept it and never will accept it. . . . He says repeatedly that all they are after is to seize power . . . he will do al. he can to prevent that He now refers to the Cabinet Mission plan as a fraud and a humbug. . He has now returned to the proposition that only the creation of Pakistan can deal with the sination. Any lingering thoughts that he had at Simle of a central goverument with three subjects appear to have gone for ever. . . . "You don't realise," he said, "how far the situation has gone in India since you were there." His theme song on this issue is what he calls the decident of Mashins by Hingais in B har. When asked for a constructive proposition, he said that the only thing that could be done antitediately was to restore law and order . . . They must all co-operate, particularly the British, in restoring law and order . . . Then, for Pakistan. . . . I do not ever remember seeing him before in a worse mood. . His last words to me as he got into his car were "There is no time any more for argument."

The only hope now, I am sure, is to frighten him badly and to any that if he won't accept the Constituent Assembly, then his people must leave the government, and he will get no support from the burs, ?

1 s-Lawrence tackled J.mah and Lisquet after hach and reported much the same about Jensah's attitude

The closest use it act with Wavel and Africa at 10 Josephine SC 4.25. at 37. ct. at a C 1.198 wild that he field that the postero had now rome to the stage where the course of events would depend on the form taken by the British Coverament, it booked as if it had got beyond to act of the course of the course of the course of the post after a course, it finance of an adjustment or of Jimah accepting one. . Jimah was alwing for full Palastan which he expected to get as the outcome of a breakdown. . He [Cripps] thought the vital thing now was for HAC to make a declaration of what they were going to do. He thought that the Opposition would agree that our position in India was now becoming unterparts.

Alexander was not sace of this latter point, remarking that at a dismerfer J touch and Linquat. "Mr Eden had expressed the view... that possibly we ought to say that we had gone too fast and that, while we adhered to our pledges, it was necessary to give a breathing space for him and order to be restored and for constitution-making to procred in a can at coopiete Otherwise we should be unable to fulfil our obligations to northes." This Conservative party flor was, of course, the same a co-

ment Jinnah had used with Pethick Lawrence. Atexander suggested "that this general line might be taken by the Opposition and might command some support in the country. Moreover, the case might be made that we were allowing India to fall into chaos and that this world be a danger to world peace."

Atther eft the cabinet meeting to see Jumph and Laquat monochately after which he reported to his colleagues that the burden of Mr. manaha discourse had been that it was a mistake to have tried to introduce self-government into India. . Mr. Jinnah saemed convinced that the Congress did not mean his ness in regard to the Congress did not mean his ness in regard to the Congress that the Congress when aim was simply that of I al stan, within the British Congress mental the held out in prospect of course of a arrang near which the horizones.

While the prince ministe met with the Maxim Leagur leads is a 10 Downing 5 reet the maxion and the overrow war norms. Whiteful to reconvene usaide the secretary of states old office for a mediag with before Petrick Lawrence opened that meeting be saving how anamous helps all were to "help to enable india a active india nature a month v.". The secretary of state confessed that the calonia reasons the secretary of state confessed that the calonia reasons the secretary of state confessed that the calonia reasons the secretary of state confessed that the calonia reasons the secretary of state confessed that the calonial reasons the secretary of state confessed that the calonial reasons was any long, a safficiently accopited of make it with while to proceed upon it faind. No make in an intensity that that was the have on which everything was proceeding. No have there was fension.

Here Wavell purpose in to say "that a total of several thousand k located something more than tone of "Bet Neth range of the the real and or so many deaths was that steps had been token as such a converged scolence the had the aght that the essence of the Caretie Massaus proposals was that they were to be put through. Was it now suggested that the essence was had been party one and had proposals of the tight over the order of the proposals of the tight of proposals as a total to the party of the party of the transition of that it was not that it so proposals that one party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major party deathed to at ten ato the transition of the fill and a very difficult situation. Nearly, the successful of proposals in the party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major party should have a veto on progress.

Cripps then asked what Nohru thought were the "fundamental reasons" the League would not come into the constituen assembly Nobel Insisted that the League had "never been prepared to co-operate," heing totally negative about everything, wanting only "a veto." The Congress vanited "co-operation" because everyone mew dust autolog could be fone. Spelially

or politically "if co-operation among Hindos or Mushims was lacking Nehru argued, however, that the Muslim League was "not interested" in either accident or political "advance." Cripps next tasked whether Nehru thought that if the Muslims could "be assured that a three tier system, would even thato" out of a constituent assembly, that might induce them to come in? Nehru said he thought the Muslims would come in anyhow "sooner or the respect of a three fifthms assembly was going to be convened. But even if the Muslim League came in, Nehru predicted, it would not be to account mornously with Congress, but mere as a step to a conflict, the way of had done in the interim government.

or gerly wahana taked, the eleater to became to all of them that have the to a the top agree would not be able to you, barmanously with Jonal and to wagne not in the same cabout and probably not in the same country. Still they tried, for another hour to convince Nehmi that it might all asset 1 better o reassure he long is of a tro hand in its sections to the its good is but with his election with three months ago, than to only is not trying to brate a consisting with it most one to be permitted in a property of the property of the permitted of

The last of the last flavor nee Craps, and Alexander met with a last the act of a country of the last of the last

A that time Cropps favored a public declaration that the British would have India in a year or, at the most, eighteen months, institing it would be accessary to hand things over to any government set up by the constituent ascendby Pett ck-Lawrence be neved that Vehru was anxious to reach a actionized "fair to the Mushims" but suspected many "more communic elements" within Congress would not left him do so. Wavell agreed, insisting there was "no chance at all" of Congress showing "generosity" toward Mishims. They discussed the possibility and wisdom of referring the "Indian probler" to the United Nations, with Aftles suggesting that it might to bringlik, up at a matter "indiangering world peace." Wavell reminded here that "Jimush had always emphasised that Pakistan would remain

within the Commonwealth and presumably hoped to get British assistance to deal with the Frontier problem."

Friday, December 6, 1940, was the last day of London's India conference, since Nehru had insisted on returning to New Delh' for the opening session of the constituent assembly on De ember 4 Januah and Lagrar however, were in no rush to get home and opted to remain in London a few more werks. The Caonet set us themselves ind approve a slatement which began. The conversariors high His Milesty's Government with Pandit Nehru. Mr. Januah, Mr. Laquat higher ind Sartur Balace with an end his evening concluding but Should a Constitute, come to be failed his evening constitute, come to be failed his evening a constitute and has possible in the linear possible of the linear lin

The British Government had done their part, they had seented acceptance in this country to a line it solice a greafor many yet as by leading Indians. The were entitled near to ask the Indian cooperation. Last, a present series of meetings have had been small or to get acceptance by either ride of the view held by the other. They proposed therefore to issue tonight a Statement. 10

Nehro flew home the next morning kany Dwarsadas who had just arrived in London from New York after six months in the United States studying "labor problems," called on Januah at Clandge's.

I found him sick and depressed. . . . I told him that I was away from India for about seven menths and I was, therefore, not able to understand what was happening to the country "Country, what country " Jinush asked. "There is no country. There are on y Hindus. and Mussalmans." I found that Jinnah wanted no acttlement except on basis of Pakistan. He wanted to keep the fight on because he was hadly bandled and treated and abused by the Congress seaders. . . . I put it to Jimah that the Moslim League and the Congress could carry on their quarrels outside the Government . . . but was it not essential that they should work together inside the Government and do as much as they possibly could for the country? Jimah rephed "What do you mean? How can it be possible? Do you mean to say that you and I can kiss each other in this room and go out of the room and stab each other?" I felt that it the Congress leaders had not broken away from blur in personal relationship, he would not have been so embittered. His self enteen, his jurde and lib feeling of being personally burt had embittered him and he had created ghosts of suspicion and distrust all round him. At the same time be had kept his shrewdness and he knew the art of not speaking too p uch as also of upsetting his opponents. He had found in the impetuous and conceited Nehru, an easy victim."

follock Lawrence's paragamentary undersecretary. At his Henderson, . Let u th kany that Dece i er a so rema kee about I must being a to all which must have been count or knowledge by it is in the her a loss of the Beash ray is well as among he endership of both Congress and the League. "Henderson . . . told me that he had sat next a at the king of men and was surprised to see talk I dah did not the man all med kan "He contrades that I mak was a sick that I may be added Don think that may troub as would be over a Jim an Gasappeared Lisquat and Suhrawardy are worse. . . . I agreed. be it of no nor Surrawards would be able to keep the Minan-. rugs v .ogether . . . as Jinnah had been able to do."4

Il and De end ear the constituent assembly met for the first to te a No. De la with dige to and decorn a acting sector Sir John to hir ported. Was I, was also has a general a London Dr. Sat me a 5 Lewis the covering grandent til the assemble elected Dr. sajondra 'rasad, who was to be the Indian republics first president, to s del in this The right press generally harled this "historic oronsion" as the culmination of "that popular awakening to a sense of in tona, acaidartty and high destany which began nearly a century ago."10 The Mus in League boycott, however, proved totally effective, with 70 of the souts in that assembly hall remaining empty, while almost 300 congressit is said women took their places as representatives of their incheste m from

begue. Shah Nawaz and Ispahani had gone to New York to present the In goes case to as many delegates of the UN as they could meet, returnag through London to spend mid-December with Jinnah and Linqual Shall's shrewd Panish daughter recalled how

Ispaliant was to king about the Pumpabi Muslims, the so-colled swordarm, who had done nothing to achieve Pakistan. I listened quietly for two or three theys and then I could not stand it any more. I said that , was not the mak and file but the leaders who were responsible for it. The Quard asked at once, "What do you mean by nadored Today, every Maslan Leaguer is a leader " I said if that is an, then Pursus will not lig hobard other provinces,

While in London, Dr. Buchman, founder of the Moral Re-Armament Movement, invited the Quaid-i-Azam and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khau to see their play and have supper with him, and wanted me to persuade the Quaid to accept the invitation. [Ispahani] and I had seen the play in New York and liked it immensely. Mr Limah agreed, and after the play when we went to Dr. Buchman's house, I said that I had asked the Quald to attend the supper because I wanted Londoners to know him. On that one of the guests said, "London knows Mr Jinnah" How that perked him up! Mr Jinnah was the life of the party, talked of his grand-children and gave us a number of anecdotes 14

LONDON-FINAL FABRWELL (1946)

Jonali was there with Lia just Ah. Ispishar and the negativor. December 11, when the prime minister informed the Commons that "the conversazon, with Indian leaders which took plan doning just week have unfort. nates under seption tagree is I am sure I am specking for all parties in his House . - as ig appear to all can norm es at linear to cooperate in frames, a Constitute in Winster Chipers I rose, however so note that This Majesis's Opposition have a lover over all here long worths great forbeatable and rest ame a not a mig a Detate upon India but I most give he brader of the House notice that we becam Debug it aist low case place. Matters are assessing an great on aspect the at its accessary the the nation of large small have its a tention concentrated pointh-in."

The Im a Deba coan for the jest two days, Crip is kicker off a 152 es moving That this House . . . expressed its hope that a settlement of the present the ries be well bligh Part a will be ters abouting " At 4 39 r st. Churchill rose to respond

I warned the House as long ago as 1931 . . . that if we were to wash our hands of all responsibility, ferocious civil war would s weed it break out between the Mash as and II adus But this, like other warnings, fell upon deaf and unregarding ears.

Indeed, it is certain that more people have lost their lives or have been wounded in India by violence since the interim Covernment under Mr Nehru was installed in office four months ago by the Viceroy, than in the previous 90 years. This is only a foretaste of what may come It may be only the first few heavy drops before the thunderstorm breaks upon us. These frightful slaughters over wide regions and in obscure uncounted villages have, in the main, fallen upon Madim minerities

I must a red my own beltef , that any attempt to establish the reign of a Anda manuerical impority to Ir dia will never be achieved These remarks of Churchiff mode I made take even a tougher line then he has set. Afther and Cripps as well as what woodens. We still this final and be feet he set we exacting he of the strength of Conserva we part in point he still enjoyed, and it confirmed his resolve to let Nehro and the less race made the extinent as not treek a me storing amount to global officials on a well is a mong the Missins who was leaded as me may story as for discussing the December 13 1946. It is not to 15 1946, a most treat. They was take Associate the case resists from an edge of the control of the cont

On the evening of December 18, Prime Manuter Attles called Lord Louis Mour, ratten to 10 Downing Street and invited him to succeed A will A has a last to prosiver an estated vegetars represent to the India is the literacy, one this praced that It we were not very careful we migh, well find ourselves handing India over not simply to civil war, but to policical movements of a definitely totalitarian character. Urgent in was not not all and he address at the age on matters of the Cabinet had reached the conclusion that a new personal approach was pechana the only hope,"19 Everyone agreed that "Dickie" Mountbutten nlime passessed the requisite charisms. Mountbatten's "fatal charm" was by now known the world over, his liberal deas made him generally acceptable to Labour and his royal blood more than acceptable to Conservatives. As Empress Victoria's great grandson, Mountbatten was viewed as the perfret last viceroy for India. His ambition and desire, however was to return tweetive duty with the navy, and his appointment as rear-admiral-in-comrand of the Pirst Cruser Squadron was to have started in April, Mount butten know enough about India, moreover, to appreciate how impossible his new assignt and was, so he "put up a stiff fight against the Prime Minis or't pressure upo bland, shwents, stressing his extreme tredness, and the folly or wearing I amout too young" his trusted press recretary and Boswell, Camplett parmon results. It he aght him some time but it did not in her Act only a recursion.

Jinnah and Liaquat flew into Cairo for a few days of Pan-Islamic meetings en oute to I idia. It is one when Pan's in is exablished that Indian and Faythsin Mushins will be really from the Quardi-Azain assaud to Egypt's prane minister Norrashy Pasha on December 1. Otherwise there will be the menace of a Hundu Enpenaust Raj spreading its tentacles right across the Middle East. In Juna was a giest of the Arab League in Cairo and fold a press conference on December 20. If I did will be raided by Hundu imperialistic power it will be as great a menace for the triping it not greater as the British imperial size power has been the whole of the Middle Last will fall from the interpretation and Palestonian Arab leaders. Jimud explained

I told them of the danger that a Hindu empire would represent for the Middle East and assured them that Pakastan would tender coope at an '> all nations strong any for f cedon without consideration of race or colour. . If a Hindu empire is achieved, it will mean the end of Islam in India and even in other Muslim countries. There is no doubt that spirit all and religious ties and is mexcrably with Egypt. If we were drowned all will be drowned if

On Describer 22, 1948. I made was back on Karach a soil He had some full or decrebed the seven decades of Lis ht. home again from Lor for to the average has been got as less of the large as the sign of the anon and here to remain low from resting place. Fathers was writing to the limitime to outstand can for him properly as the alone could do Bet some of ongest and to agles in good account of the large of the steep road ahead. The heaviest hattle had not to be won.

21

New Delhi (1947)

As the new year dawnod practically every one seemed to know it was time that can go in Great left has relationally with industrial but that was a be done? And how? Jinnah had returned home a sick man, too extend on the second of the second

Again on January 1, Atthe appealed to Monothatten to take up the viceray's borden, and Monothatten replied two days later

have thought over very earnestly all that you said. . . . It makes all he difference to me to know that you propose terminating the little little of the little little of the little little of the little little of the little of

sary to do so. . . Although it would be our intention to observe the Protocol necessary to uphold the position of Vicerry and Vicereine, my wife and I would wish to visit Indsan Leaders, and representative British and Indian people, in their own homes and unaccompanied by staff; and to make correlves easier of access than the cristing protocol appears to have made possible?

Lady Edwinn Mount latter, a charm was at least as potent as her brabbad's, and behrus romante fascination for her was to play a pine in the frantic last minute negotiations that often kept at least case of the Meurobacces in touch with [awaharfal "imaccompanied by staff."

The British threater of centre is, chagence Sir Norman P. A. Smith, informed Wavell that from the "British angle,"

the game so far has been well played ... both Congress and the League have been brought into the Central Government . The Indian problem has been there is that it as the proper of plan of communalism ... an opportunity for orderly evacuation now presents itset. The fullest are as, should be taken of our present breathing space... Secretary of State's control over civil officers should be alwayated at the school control over civil officers should be the part of the same and taken about all broading that a decisive gesture of the kind will be just each type on its correct communal plane... Grave communal disorder must not disturb us into action which would reinfroduce anti-British agination... The former is a rate as if grastly process tend in a cit so was way to the solution of the Indian products.

Such neo-Malithusian come sor was rarely put into written form by any twentieth-century British officials.

A lew days before the Large is Working Committee was straduled to next in Karachi Kirzie ordered his Payada politic to cack I had on the active Langue national grands in his province. The Masking guards were several as a party arm on hies day has not Cermany and I are before the asia and compared to Mose is Black Shere." a Lingland by the entering his asia to perfect the asia and compared to Mose is Black Shere." a Lingland by the entering his asia to Petronik Lawrence. More than a thousand steel helmets were found in national guard headquarters at Labour and the general commanders of the goard were all arrested. The time is a proposed to the proposed depending an in Karachi and a proposed to the second of the goard were all arrested. The history is a proposed to be a second of the proposed to the containing the could not hope to restore provincial piece otherwise. Too little Leagua leaders now angulic demanded bluszar's instinctuate recognition, mass succlosed.

ngs were attended by huge crowds in Lahore and other Punjab cibes.

No. 1. Havat proclaimed that the Massim League was ready to "put out 15 million Musling to break [the] law," if Khizar's ministry refused to reague At midnight Khizar struck ngain, arresting all the most powerful revinced League leaders including the massh of Mamdot, Piroz Khan Noon, and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. Riots crupted in every district of the life to Uniform 11 the League's Working committee resolved against calling the conneil to reconsider its rejection of the missions plan, thus a many and resound possibility of the League opting to enter the conneil to assembly.

Nours saw Wavel the next day and vowed that the constituent assemble of deriving a saving he would have to consult his collections in to the deriving he would have to consult his collections to the least of the le

Or Formary 20, 2947 Prime Minister Attice informed has peers in the Caronions that

His Majosty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in Indes — but unfortunately there as a present no clear prospect t at such a constitution , , will emerge . . His Majosty's Government with to make it clear that it as their definite intention to make the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible linear hands by a date not later than june 1948. — It is therefore essential that all parties should stak their differences in order that they may be ready to shouldnet the great responsibilities which will corose upon their next year.

Can gross and the Longin both welcomed the new statement. "The British Covernment have at last seen the light and taken a historic decision which so that light and taken a historic decision which so that light coefficient in a master worthy of civilized

nations," wrote the Hinduston T mer next day. The Missim League and Mr Janah are now face to face with reality No. adian wishes to deny the Mislim community its ightful place in India if it is not possible to did so now that the third party is quitting. There is no alternative to a mutual settlement if But Datas and not signer, arguing in its lead article the same day. Mr Attire and his colleagues appeared to have realised at last what the Mislim League has repeatedly asserted that he hope of framing an agreed con far from fir it united ladia was used, dream AI o tempts made to that end have tables because her were based on an unusual approach."

Wavell met with Nehri ard Linguist or February 21. Nehri was obvious appressed by the Statement and conscious of the residuality throws or the Congress, reported the vieros. The spoke in the possible partition of the Possible

During the last seek in Fe and the Police traped of a metasified on case in had a dozen major three trad before a local and a local and mobile of set in leaght of clowers. The same a count and provide ance a manufacture of the cast Mason includes the same at the cast Mason includes the same at the cast Mason includes the same at local and cast limb and local and l

Klaz reagged on March 2 after consulting with Zetrialal: Kaan and other friends he trusted in Labore, He concluded to Governor Jonetha

that the Mushim League must be brought up against reality without delay ... They "League leaders" had no idea of the strength of limits and Sikh feeling ugainst them and so long as he and his Mushim tinonist colleugues acted as a buffer they would not change their fantastic and arrogant ideas. The outlook for Manndot [Immph League leader] was very bleak, and . If he failed to secure adequate support from the Hendus or Sikhs or both it would be my duty to go into Section 33 (Covernor's Raj.) in

5 and resolved that

s marked the end of Pomabi units the political dense of the "Land of # wers." Sikh eader Swaran shigh told the governor har his parts had no intention" of joining a coantion government with the League since they had no intention of allowing themselves to be "treated as serifs under M s to masters, and fe t that they were strong maniph to detend them we "" And League meetings spread the following week and Congress and the Augus Sichs announced plans for mass radies for Marca 11 and joined, icc. and Passaca Day" to be hid the agount the Pumpab. Violance spread and more deaths were reported daily

The find a debate was la mobed or the Commons on March 5 by Cripps.

A le or ded the government's pubey and noted how "unfortunate" if was that

just at the moment when the Muxlim League was about to reconsider the situation with a view, possibly, to coming into the Constituent Assembly at Karachi, events in the Punjab boiled up. . . . Wo can only hope that tolerance and good sense will bring about some sectioner. . This is just another one of those factors which is a filterin to product the coarse of events in India logy.

Vision Charel I rose the maximum the eppositions mad the I his content a gibernace to the maximum terms and accreed the maximum to I have a separated a severa have respects from the maximum tool have a bitter attack on the "Government of Mr. Neltru," which be called "a complete disaster," insisting that "It was a new tool mastake to entrust the government of India to the caste Hindu. Turning to the new Viceroy," Charchill argued

India is to be subjected not merely to partition, but to fragmentation, one to haphward fragmentation. A time limit is imposed and of guidotine—which will certainly provent the full, fair and reasonable discussion of the guart complement succes that are involved. These 14 months will not be used for the melting of hearts and the month of Mushim and Hundu all over India. They will be used in preparation for cival war, and they will be marked continually by theories and disturbances such as are now going on in the great city of Labore ¹⁰

Africe, in a reput attempt at rebuttal, admitted that "There is gross negative of sensitive todas, but unfortunately, that social and economic witters was continued a ring all the former of our role. We did not go in for the reversionary business of terring out the landburds who do nothing whatever We did amouthing to repress the money enders, but not much We accepted that social and economic system. Why are we told now a the very end of our rule—hat we must a rear up all these things before we go, otherwise we shall betray our trust? If that trust is there it ought to have been fulfilled long ago. "If the House of Commons d video late that night in March stricth along party lones with a majority of 337 Labourdes closing rames behind their prime numster and 185 Conservances wasking the other way with Chipper I. Moun batters with one or land stuff of experiences on to be launched on the fastest massion of major pointical sungers ever performed by one nation on the pringmant buly public of a sold of

Command noting it. Miltan lest twent dead and many none spired, his a took direct control of his Prijab justice and riverson 93 of the fast facing Act of 1935. The minimal of Minimals workers funderally of put a Mind in League monistry together but could win the support only of several Scheduled Cast, and Ledoc Christian members of his assistant as well as three nor lessons Mish as a gold to his uses of eight pure schwarts. This left the sold Hind yield opposition of nust exically admend against him. Meanwher all New Denis (in the minimal finance of the Langer An assespted official adject and presented in a heart is the Langer An assespted official adject and presented in a heart house being Langer. An assespted official adject and presented in a heart is the Langer of the sold of the so

Am itser was my main anxiety vesterday." Jenkers wrot: Wawill on the 1 " "By the evening the city was completely out of control. The half does not seem to be very a gli bit the figures we have are only for the corpers which have based through the braying mortian. Mest of the manifest seem to have produced arms many in manys are main as Masses of people ... running away from the city added to the control of manifest many the many many produced arms. Police reinforcements were despatched by solar in and two Britis. Battalions. Bad riciting is reported from Recallement with 25 head and perhaps 100 injured. Riciting has a timed a fillikot and Juffundur These affairs always go through three stages—1 my, funk and secrimination. "*** The frenzy was to continue all year Congress Working Committee rate in emergency session on March

The transfer of power in order to be smooth, should be preceded by the recognition at practice of the faterin Convernment as a Don mor Convernment with effective control over the services and a but size time. The Control Convernment must resembedly function at a Cabmet with full authority and responsibility. Any other arrangement is incompatible with good government and is peculiarly dangerous.

In this bour when final decisions have to be taken . . . the Working Committee earnestly call upon all parties and groups . . to discard violent and coercive methods, and co-operate peacefully. . . The end of an em is at hand and a new age will soon begin. Let this dawn of the new age be ushered in bravely, leaving hates and discords in the dead past. 13

When forwarding these Congress resolutions to the viceror the next dis-Nebul explained our intention to use the Mislan Traggis to one Congress in the assembly are to stock together annually toward reaching a final stitlemen. He ducked with an amost another sigh of resignation.

If unfortunately this is not possible, we ... have also suggested the division of divinion in the parts. This principle would if course apply to Bengal also ... not pleasant for us to contemplate, but such a referable would also the contemplate to the such a referable would be put by either parts to impose its will upon the other Recent events in the Punjab have demonstrated ... that it is not possible to correct the non-Muslim miliority in the Province, just as it is not possible or desirable to correct the others. .. In the event of the Muslim League not accepting the Cabinet Delegation's scheme and not coming into the Constituent Assembly, the division of Bengal and Punjab becomes inevitable.³⁸

Congress was now ready to concern Pakistan including only Muslammajor districts het Pakistan nonethenss it was each March of 19a. In iab had won. We have got to stand in our was legs. Quadit-Aca told Missim countils a nition has on March 12 costing that "our ideal ogy, our goal, our basic and fundamental principles... are not only different from the Hindu organisations but are in conflict.... There is no common ground for co-operation.... There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was laughed at, but let me tell you this there is no other solution which will do credit and bring honour to our people... Insha Allah ("God Willing" we shall have Pakistan."

Communal "tension," Jenkins reported was "acute in almost all districts" of the Punjab, with the major cities, Lahore Amritsar Multan and Ravenipindi, key "danger points." But the "trenble" was spreading to villages, faming out across the once prosperous countryable like cancerous cells of fantables, battered cut loose and growing of no alutining a rait there accured to up no control jous able no u but tang force available to stop them.

In Am that Minter Tara Singh was reported to have told his Sids fol-

lowers that the "Civil Mar had "already begun." Sikh defence member Balder Sirgh wrote Wavell, "Laske an secret of n. convection that Museum Leagues analonghr on the Countrie Munistry had been one one need to rac was it was because the League had despaired of boing about defence the constitutional methods." There were as error firm casta by figures for the Pumpils have eak a sect acted that about 1,000 persons had been folled on the last morth or noting and many multiplies of hat figure wounded the races would be late that year, but the Pumpils's fields were to be flooded with blood.

Mosell after over almost data, with the cabinet in London, serking an wars to their a problems from his over and glower out tabling to solve flux. His such hows becamen his properties of Indom polytics, gir real bit in at the thought as he interested the calment in early. March "that he beam leaders to mosely a would sooner or here real so that the retention at the Indian from index contral courte was value but a to be external violation of the ham from index contral courte was value but at the retention at the Indian and to the maintenance of all rins haw have ones "I have been the internal Covernages, the result not to protect British have the first most at 10 Down, and order of the violous large and not of the graders, and there were still many "amend notes of be considered."

the Month after that March 3 on fing his or the eartest senation at the Month after that March 3 on fing his or the eartest senation at the month senation at the month the eartest senation of Masla.

**Control of Committee Committee on the Parish as Sind, the other in the North-

to ordine the diserces of Lastern Bengal which are predominantly Muslein, and certain areas of Assam, thus partitioning Bengal . . . I believe that parlation is the price that will have to be pair for any stability in Bengal . any solution which hands over Calcutta to I assat in will be unstable and impractical. . On the other hand, the League has to be given a port on the East, and the solution is that as part of the comparishes settlement India should build a large . . and port in Chittagong, that is, provide the money for it however many millions it may cost. 22

I alculta financial interests thus were prepared to pay for retention of their rapidal, and this logicula was ultimately accepted by a light ites.

Tem of thorough of rotagees began pour ig toto Bawa pine. Iron vaged villager in the countryside. "Attacks on non-Must me have been

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organized with extreme savagery. I okins wired on March 17 "Deputs Commissioner Ruwalpurdi believes that in his district alone there may be 5.00 casualties "in as information flower in from our long regions of the Rumah a pactum of organisation and conspirely seemed to energy wrote the governor, "in parts of Rawapind' outbreeds ..., have occurred almost simultaneously... carefully planned and carried out. All Muslims in the affecter districts seem to be anyoused in or some thethe to the movement. The Comma user 14 Devision tole the wheal I saw I in vesterday that at tacks on an Muslims has been led in some cases by set rec. Alony officerssome of them rensioners. The Muslim section of he wend autables to whom I spoke ... were extremely suffly ..., non-Muslims are vehemently be ther against the contraction in the Police. The League's "Swordam" was being wielded now with a vengeance.

On March 8, Mounthatten received an predeparture orders from the prime minister

My co leagues of the Cabinet Mession and I have discussed with your this general his of your approach to the problems which of your offerent you in India. It with, I think be useful to you to have on record the salient points. . . It is the definite objective of His Majesty's Covernment to obtain a unitary Covernment for British India and the Indian States, if possible within the British Commonwealth, through the need or of a Caratitural Assembly and and should do the atmost a your power to persende. Furthes to work together to this and. If by October 1 your consider that there is no prospect of reaching a settlement on the basis of a unitary government you should report to His Majesty's Covernment on the steps which you consider should be taken for the handing over of power on the due date. . You will do your best to persende the ralers of any Indian States in which political progress has been slow to progress rapidly.

It is essential that there should be the fullest co-operation with the Indian leaders in all steps that are taken as to the wathdrawal of British power so that the process may go forward as smoothly as possible 22.

On March 22, 1947, Mountbatten reached New Dello, where he met with Wave.I

There was some discussion of the fadure of the Indian politicans to appreciate how little ture there was to arrange the transfer of power before Jone, 1948, and the question was raised whether the partition of Purjah and Bengal could take place toxide the Cabinet Musion's plan LURID MOLNUBATION. . . . and he thought there must be

some strong authority to which to hand over in India, and that any solution must be based on the Indian Array, 31

Wavell quit New Delhi early the next morning but remained vicercy till be few out of Karach, the following da: I went round to Mounthatter, a write and had a discussion with the Vicercy designate, clad in his understand vest press at such a land analysis Johnson receiled. It showed me this morning a masterpiers on the troublage of Dinate I as a photomatic before the following the private secretary in which they are of course described as 'Lord and Lady Louis arriving' "M

The numericanth and ast of the Bratish vicer by was swort in by Lord Chief Justice Sir Panick Spans on the moral gipt Mirch 24 1047 with a planed version of perip and people for New Delbis royal ceremonal gipt and a Mirch Manner for several initial scalence by spanking (i) and a mod pleasant manner for several initial scalence by spanking (i) and a mod pleasant manner for several initial scalence by spanking (i) and the manner for several initial scalence by spanking in our several initial scalence by spanking in the control of the manner for several initial scalence of the manner for the model of the several initial scalence of t

Note had spine at time with he Mountbattens in Ma aya during to a mod admired Diversional engage of actify as names are in reansity, and convivality. They had "hit it off" beautifully. Mount-to used Nehra as his primary ladian sounding board for vital information, asking, for example, "his own estimate" of Jinnah.

This negative analysis of his leading rival reveals Nebrus intense batted of floods more than it helps alluminate the true source of Jimub's powers Mountisations own rather negative assessment of Ji mah was, in some measure, probably influenced by Nebrus singular aversion to the Quac-1-Azam and all he represented

The new vicesoy next met with Liaquat Ali Khan, whose attempt to solve India's economic problem had met with such strong Congress opposition that he had finally, agreed to cut his projected excess profits tax from 25 to 46 percent. But Mountoateen doe not find I acquat as intellectually stimulating or sersials, appealing as Vehra, and no hourt of real infimace over developed between them.

Monthatten spent over sea hours talking as private with Gardle at five separate used ogs from March 31 arough April 4, during which the Mahatma proposed that

Mr Jinnah . be given the option of forming a Cabinot. . . . If Mr mah accepted as offer the Congress would guarantee to coopera e tree v and s neere y so long as Al the measures that Mr. Imhave Cid not him a forward are in the interests of the Leftan people as a whole . sole referee of what is or is not in the interests of Ind.a as a whole will be Lord Mountbatten, . . . Mr Jinnah must stipulate, on behalf of the League . . . that, so far as he or they are concerned, the will do their atmost to preserve peace throughout India. . . . There shall be no National Guards or any other form of private army. . . Within the framework hereof Mr Jinnah will be serteeth tree to present for accontance a solient of Pakostan, everbefore the trans er of pose a proceed however that he is successfel n lisa spen to reason a win to the liver of arms which he also pares for all a for this purpose Thus feet will be no compale on In this matter over a Province or part thereof. . . . If Mr Jimnh relects this offer the same offer to be made mutatis mutandu to Congress. #7

When Gauch, initially proposed this ingenious force la Mounthatter adon tea t "staggered me I asked What would Mr. in an act to suck a groups." The reply was It you tell him I are the author he will rely "Wey Gandh." I Mounthatten their remarker and I presure Mr. it is nah will be right? To which he replied with great fervour 'No, I am entirely sincere in my suggestion." Gandhi's offer would never be conveyed to a numb Mounthatten upted first to case as the marker will whose reaction was totally negative. Nehru was shocked to learn that his Mahatma was quite ready to replace him as promier with the Quand-Azam. After telling Mounthatten how "intrealistic" Gandhi's "solution" was, Jawaharlo sa d'he aus aresess for Mr. in the large time he was inspired in Delhi, as he had been away for four months and was rapidly getting out of touch with evens at the Centre, "We Nehru and Patel haped quickly to left g the amprecactable out and back into "timeh" with their conclusions.

in how best to handle Jinnah and the Mishm League. Perhaps even if linnah were offered it is time central government on a platter with the whole cable of inder his person a courtor he might have dismissed it with a negative wave of his long-fingered hand. Yet it was an exquisite temptaon a place before care it was a training solution to India's ohist, toughsi, greates political problem. The Mahatma alone was capable a such alsolute conegation, such instant reversal of political position. Candhi asenstood | much well once the moreover to know just low puters as appeal all single that some of song toric generous offer would be a new It is gitt of base worked sure all is was a king Solimon so often But Vehm had I st d the cup of power too ung to iffer its lect if to an one else-last of of to that bedieers and er" the "react of or M s is been of Ma apar if it as so it any good Congress leaders thought of Juneau Neber subfield Manufaction but the sale ne was to the repract calle even less rene I new than a year ago" when Candle hall suggested the same men to the cabinet mission

More thatten and Joseph for the first time on April 8 finding Him "now, a has give and e schools," In the on I as he moved come the air rice of stope panel, and with our and the Monorthalte resting gales and Mosephates, recombined the Landon back that one and Mosephates, recombined to south an panel has a point a rest of the right of stand at the passe of the when we assisted as the right of stand at the passe of the when we assisted as the right of stand at the passe of the when we assisted as the right of the passe of the stand what it does not all the stand of the stand what it is the stand when the stand when the stand of the stand when the stand of the standard of

Mr Jinnali claimed that there was only one solution—a "surgical operation" on India, otherwise India would perial altogether. I replied In retterating that I had not yet made up my mind, and pointed out that an "onaesthetic" must precede any "surgical operation." He gave me an account (which worries me a great deal) about his previous negotiations with Mr. Gandali, . . He emphasized, and tried to prove from this account that me the Muslim side there was only one to deal with, namely howself. But the same was not true of the representatives of Congress—there was no one man to deal with on their side. Mr. Candibi had openly confessed that he represented nolondy—had enormous authority with no responsibility Sedim and Patel represented hillrengt points of view within Con-

gress neither could give a categorical answer on behalf of the party as a whole. He also spoke of the emotionalism of the Congress leaders. He accused Congress leaders of constantly shifting their front. They would stoop to anything... At the end of our interview, after he had told me a succession of long stories about how appallogly the Muslims had been treated, I informed him that what fascinated me was the way that all the Indian leaders spoke with such convector.

The conviviality of that channe dinner parts which obviously loosened Januals to gue and "warried" Mount a ter a great deal" seems to have so do misleid life conflicacy in Jiest, that he deadly repose early gunst trains it is Quant is other than that er no he are tupe of price sing Indian in the John's own negative assessment it (and is powers to "deliver" Congress on thereon in doubt to hat most tragic decision set in dames also the saves on Montroutens were all digners of Innairs at the mind and linds not to fish it he considered dangerously and independents when it for that first mar their meeting. It was not any than he and so we Jimanes at the lated Nohra It went deeper the respectively of the lated Nohra It went deeper the respectively constrained and powers to have found those Tong stories" symptomatic of sends.

They not igned a April "with Lord Drian ording the discussion that after three by every means to get Jinaal to say a "work necessal the Cabriet Mission plan and enter the Constituent Assembly "4 Jinnah remained adamant, however

Next evening this met for we more hours and Mounthatten coplained bis resolve to receive all the Bittsh governing those best to transfer Britan's power after hearing the wass of all major jurious Units to cause the same higher not wast for the parties to reach lagreement was the terminal date had been set.

I then asked him what, if he were in my place, his solution would be; and he repeated once more the demand for Pakistan. . . . I invited Mr Jinnah to put forward his arguments for purition. He recited the classic ones. I then pointed out that his restarks applied also to the partition of the Pumph and Bengal, and that by sheer logic if I accepted his arguments in the case of India as a whole, I had also to apply them in the case of these two Provinces . . . he expressed himself most upset at my trying to give him a "moth eaten" Pakistan. He sak, that this demand for partitioning the Pumph and Bengal was a blaff on the part of Congress to try and Irighten hum off Pakistan. He was not to be triplicated off so condy, and he would be sorry I I were taken in by the Congress bluff.

On April 9, Mountbatten and Jinnah calked again for over an hour-Jinnah insisted that the Begin all and end all" of Pakistan was to have its own arms

I told him that I regarded it as a very great tragedy that he should be trying to force me to give up the idea of a united India. I painted a picture of the greatness that India could achieve, . I finally said that I found that the present Interim Coalition Covernment was every day working better and in a more co-operative spirit, and that it was a day-dream of infine to be able to put the Central Covernment under the Prime Ministership of Mr Jinnah himself. . . Some 35 minutes later, Mr Jinnah, who had not referred previously to my personal remark about him, suddenly made a reference out of the blue to the fact that I had wanted him to be the Primo Minister Thure is no doubt that it had great I is of the valvy and hat he had kept timiling over the proposition in his mind.

Mr Gandhi's farnous scheme may vit go through or the pure vanity of Mr Jinnahl Nevertheless he gives me the impression of a man who has not thought out one single piece of the mechanics of his own great scheme, and he will have the shock of his life when he reall has to come down to each mad try and make his vague idealistic proposals work on a concrete basis.

And after three core has alone will found to Aird 10. Mount often reported to his stall to the considered "Mr., much wish a passe opadiac case." The vicero) had

brought all possible arguments to bear on Mr. Jamab but, it seemed that appeals to his reason did not prevail... Mr. Jamab had not been able in his presence to adduce one single feasible argument in favour of Pakistan. In fact be had offered no counter arguments. He give the impression that he was not listening. He was impossible to argue with... He was, whintover was said, intent on his Pakistan-which could surely only result in doing the Muslims irreparable damago... until he had not the Jimab he [Mountbatten] had not thought it possible that a man with such a complete lack of sense of responsibility could hold the power which he did. "

Line of resold it would fill a "the organizing feature in Mr. Junah's world structure was his horthing and contempt of the Handus. He apparently thought that all Handus were sub-lineau, creatures with whom it was intrinsiable for the Muslims to live "0.

All the while communal righting had continued to rack the Punjab. By until April, official entimates at some 3,500 dead in lettle core than a rountle

mathem counted approximately six fluidus and 5ikhs for every Muslim is more if "One of my troubles has been one extreme complacenes of the Leugun leaders in the Punjah who say in effect that boys will be boys," is surfed, each ms, who extinated by then that "Ev my British official or the I's and IP in the run abine uding reverth would be very glan to leave it tomorrow ..., we feel now that we are dealing with people who are out to leave it tomorrow... we feel now that we are dealing with people who are out to leave it tomorrow... which is not been suffered by the seed of the

Che Minister S brawards noped to say Bong, the agony of a second to his Cangress, mile towards Blue opposeds, advocating other necessary by preparation to his Cangress, mile towards Blue opposeds, advocating other necessary to serial wild unope a of jets and his rig Colertors highly developed, certains a most S to wards so a 1B stoll as well as A review capital to accomplish the consideration of some of the construction of

Mounthalter f and Linguist A.; Many much easier to one with their Jimes at their least more her News at this objects and readily reason as causes a eight with Linguist for two horrs on the evening of April a taking him into confidence, as to

how my mind was beginning to work towards a solution. I started off with Pakistan and complete partition of the Punjob and Bengal and Assam. I told him that I had no doubt that the Indian leaders and their peoples were in such an hysterical condition that they would all gladly agree to my arranging their suicide in this way. He nodded his head, and said "I am afraid everybods will agree to such a pian, we are all in such a state." I told him that the worst service I cound do to Iodia, if I were her enemy or completely indifferent to her fate, would be to take advantage of this extraordinary men all corns too. To force the completest partition possible upon them, sefore going off in time 1948 and leaving the whole country the note bone-leve change."

That talk with Laquat sealed India's trage, fate. Mountbatten was completely soncere in what he said after Lagrat mount all admitted that even Jinnah would accept the triple part tion plan, for Mounthatten was wise enough to apt capate the horrors of slashing a supportiven, so forbired by religious plutaits, into competing national taggings. He indesstood indead too well the pittally and cangers it assiding the are of windrawng the foreign troops and empartial - access and of leaving the in lettered, prejudiced, fearful, superstituous masses to battle it out, to fall onto one punker venting their lears and spleen on magliforing vivage and irban ward. He sensed, in fact, that "the worst service I could do to ludia, if I were her enemy or completely indifferent to her fate 'w s precisely what he would do ast a few contlas at er vore to those dread words. He did not want to do this Quite for contrary of course. He had gone ou to save ndin to heal its a ninets to offer prace not the sword of our tion. He indi Lale Mounthatten loved in ha and the Indians. Pley were ready o risk then aresented this so in fact daily in the service of these propose anod, for sural most in enversied asopic But there was no a her solidion

foundliss read pairs the index extrion would have not a for tag the very land and as the people Me and a fee lover most in its right of the lover to Junals with a considered "proceedings," Persons and a red the safe of the sheet origin of a need the safe of the sheet origin of the rounse partition of the Pot all additional as see The best servant became ever sent out to had a world soon it is find time to fifther the open of its find time to fifth a feet that the could note that "and that right after Laupint to the Meritagon that Mr. Laupint A. Khan item and o help the find a note reasonable solution than this mad Pakistan."

A but shipognal strong saw Jimaah at this hime reported to the virein a direction as "most disturbed at the of mand" which made
that All Jackse Mounthalten, "It was justified that Millians as as a
linear notional that he was beweldered by the impression that Millian
that produce the saming a mously book to the impression that Millian
has notice that this process should be allowed to take its course,
here are 1 in a ps. plogical moment is which to the advantage of A."
All withful thinking, Nome of those "clever" strategies worked.

Krahna Menon continued to keep in touch with Mounibatten, who found be had "very shrewd views on world politics, warning Mountbatten against America's "object in India . . . to capture all the markets, to step in and take the place of the British, and finally — to get bases in India for ultimate use against Housta "Munitbatters was at road equil's

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cated to you that Pakistan would wish to remain within the Commonwealth." I corrected him and said, "No, you out me that if the
Pakistan Government was formed, its first act might well be to ask to
be admitted to membership of the British Commonwealth." He corrected me, and said I completely misunderstood the position, it was
not a question of asking to be admitted, it was a question of not being kicked out. He said that Mr Churchill had told him. "You have
only to stand firm and demand your rights not to be expe ed from
the British Commonwealth, and you are bound to be accepted. The
country would never stand for the expulsion of toya, members of the
Empire."

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shrewd" in return, answere outboring Nehrus closest advisor on foreign affairs hat unless India remained. The Birtish Communicath Praisition which was most account to do so might soon hild up its armed forces in another superior to those or. If industan and if pressure distant his exact was in become big novel and to bases within the British Communication. Kinshau Menon "about tell shaudered" at that prospect and amount of to do all an orded to be provided Vehru and have to request dome and states for Laura as a fact tack soon did despit "firm provided grass a miniments hat India would become a completely independent sovereign State."

Whatever Mounthatten and its staff thought of families neval state he scale is a need the size is sharpness to be logal and second moved persently correct to be local and legal open in at the mach concast and nevalured tissue of commonwealth membership.

Viscous beas Edwis a Mountbatter tried to before the Edwiss for such accessions away Lonpolicies, but litter always returns to be reflavorite subject and many
vior to tracks e. Congress as the Hone commercia as a whole LarMonet at the respects. "She associal donor for treat—made recomreferences to the fact that the Mounts were light for separation and short
right is the work in agreed to the Local Mountain the Hone and short
right is the work in agreed to the Mountain that he has alread or
persecution in the and so the me comprehens that the Hone are the Mountain tried
of get habons to explain to her how Parkstan with I had not refer to
"Moss sould rote on the great may define answer has a goall the much at
the premium work would be just easy once Mosbie demands here
been agreed to."

Millionals tool be that he had anned Sir Stufford Creaps what form a grantini on the fransier of power was held to the Men the first late appel overling, could be count on the first late appel overling, could be count on the first through the methods of the Brest Count one of a factor same praylege as other one shows of the Brest Count one of a factor set the same praylege as other one shows of the Brest Count one of a factor of the same praylege as other one show of the Brest Count one of a factor of the same praylege as other one show a factor of the same the post for to associate a factor of that the same praylege as the count of the same praylege as the count of the same praylege as the count of the same and the same and the same and the same and the same as the count of the same and the same and

By the code. Apr. the Mislam league had a clear amiority in the Pullah and the lawab of Minder remained that Governor Jenkers is a piper in the firm a man site is stead of continuous attack and the state of the 1935 of Jenah foods were to Minni attention traterate, but demand but the vicerty, keeps governor ratus. It is state to just demand but the vicerty keeps governor ratus. It is state to just the first During this same relevant to every million at January of Schreiwarta's recents expressed hope the law of the allowed a linear transfer of the continuous transfer of the continuo

Junah explained that his reasons for Insisting that Pakistan must recover within the British Commonwealth were not merely legalistic, however in the property of the control of the second of the control of the British Louinnenwealth, with its own array, and the right to argue cases at any central Council on this basis." That was to be his trump card in defence of his newborn nation, no matter how "moth coatum" a state it might be.

He said, without any heatation, "I should be delighted. What is the use of Bengal without Calcutta, they had much better remain mated and independent; I am sure that they would be on friendly terms with us."

Jimud's hopes for Bengal remaining united were shared by Likquat,

onformed Sir Eric Microlle "that he was in no way worsted about
Bengal as he was convinced in his own more that the previous would never
stirtle. He thought it would remain a separate state, Joshi g neith of the
thostan and Pakantin. ** English alon "thereof" to Microlle, that "there was a

1.0 cm or model at M. S. in w. Had addless sens de manded united and and opendent, they would wish to remain within the Communication. Mr. Jinnah roplied "Of course just as I indi-

chance that 'Sikhistan' might join up with Pakistun, and that the Muslim Leag c would offer them very generous terms." Jornah had vever seeme mecangs with Sikh leaders in widing the maharan of Pahaia and Baldey Singh, and tried to induce them to Join Pakistan. Webru and Patel were most on to offer more however keep as Bu lea are her to up a wear as Master Tara Singh, loyal to India, and Baldey was to retain control over Indias atmissive concerns to the seasons of the might be able to avert the month disaster. It is evaluated that he might be able to avert the month disaster. It is evaluated in the land, a mind this leaves a unified Eastern Banesadesh on its own.

The non-Look at a roller in It has the more I rease that all this parts or bis pass as did r an acss for a going to radice the est among officiency of the whole country immeasurably," Mountbatten wrote turns on May 1. "No-one would over andates me to agree to it were it not for the funtastic communal madness that has seized everybody and leaves no other course open . . , one small horrifying example my wife bad Miss June ! She old & sa Jam I that she has spent toot morning at the andy from College and was so delighted to fine him happed that prostitution was working and on what excellent terms the Hindu and Musha girls were. . . . To this Miss Jinouh replied 'Don't be misled by the am parent contentment of the Malm greathers whaten't been able to a cit our propagands in that college yet.' . . . The Hindus are nearly as have . . . The most we can do . . . is to put responsibility for any of these is in decisions fairly and squarely on the Indian shoulders in the eyes of the world for one day they will butterly regret the decision they are about a make, "60

The Mountbuttens flow up to Sinla for a week's holiday, taking Net and he das glass Ind a as hease guests. Throug small real freene will believe during his stay here." Mountbatten wired his chief of stoff, Lord Ismay, "I asked him whether he would look at the Loudon draft [of the plar for voting on partition], as an act of friendship and on the understaying that he would not utilise his prior knowledge or mention to his deagues that he had been it. He readily gave this undertaking and took a farft to hed "it Next morning Nehru wrote Mountbatten that the plan he had previewed "frightened the ... much that we had done so far underrened and the Cubinet Missions scheme and subsequent developments were set aside and an entirely new picture presented—a picture of fragmentation and conflict and desorder, and ..., of a worsening of visions between Lutin and Brians. If my reactions were so make it you can well imagine what my colesagues and others will think and feel

It will be a disaster "to Mountbatten reported Nehrus "bombshell" to Ismay suggesting that in view of this reaction some "reducting of the slam" would be required at this mind attime isked Mountbatten to 6s home onless be preferred having Cripps, Alexander, or the new secretary of state, Lord Listowel 6s out to New Della to consult with him on the spot Mountbatten chose to go to London.

Before fiving from New Delhi in mid-May. Mounthatten showed his resed proposed plan to La int. I then asked him whither the Mishm
Lengue was going to accept partition of the Punjah and Benga. to which
repeated Me sharmeter agree to the birtyon has trickens now to the
evitable. It till thin it was essential that If it did become inevitable, all
said is should give the republic greenment to avoid bloodsteed and that I
proposed to raise this with Mr Junah. Mi

minds reaction to the Mc nathaut or dan was even more regarive had a series. The Mastin League minut agree to the matrices of Bergol and League at waste for another interest to economically captically politically or moral. These provides have built be been respective lives for nearly a century a send the only ground which is put onward for the part tions of a rich areas where the Hudos are sisten as a moral should be separated for the rowness and at the concerned and the desastions for the Hill these two postness and at the concuminates concerned and for the Hill these two postness and at the concumination of the formation and a series of the formation of the Flastern Bengal and the worst comes to worst, Calcutta should be made a free and the series of the first comes to worst, Calcutta should be made a free and the concerned an

At 10 Downing Street, on the evening of Ma. 19, .947 Mountbatter abouted From Mounter After and his Carnet colongr's that "It added to the chart that the Mosher League would resort to arms. I Pakestan in more long week at the League would resort to arms. I Pakestan in more long week at the League would resort to arms. I Pakestan in more long week at the least the set of the mount of the Mosher and Least like in premising a "feed" herefit of relationship between Pakestan and I to a and offering. Hindustan is "friendle and resputed all lance to Compress reactions to the "corridor" demand proved so strongly negative that it never became a serious issue, receiving even less aftention than the idea that Calentia should emerge as a free port. Then Jinnah wired the roluting demanding that before Bengal and the Pumple were partitioned, a referendum should be held in each province to determine the will of its people in this right regard. Mountbatten, however spoke against that proponal hostong it "would merely result in delay." The calonat 'agreed," and the importal steamorifier mixed about a high gear.

Artifina Menon fless to Landon to toldern Menuthasten on May 21 to

Nehru and Patel were "ready to accept" lommon status if it were offered to limin in 1947. "As I are anxious that there should be no more adverstanding I am writing a con-even bough I have seen you this morner. Weltons confidant wrote Mountbatten from India House that same day. "If Mr Jionian coasts a total separation and that straight awar and the agree to a further sake of react and dismonther our country we want to be red in him so far as the afters of what is left, ours of our country are concurred. I feel sure you will proceed to a labor that it is not in rather of delight in the further of the light of the form that it another six membras they would use the fusiers Punjah and Sikh support as well as Celevita and W stern beingal possible one of the princely status assumes also lighted as a new Bright may be seen and they of acquiring ready, as to the invastely to endour a bit status in the discussion of the bead of a gain getting off the bead we will get rid of the beadache. ""

Attler's firm hard, remainer () for any the Conservative opposition I Pay ament who could cas a have land on the lade and enter a last a Bill or a prolonged and act or along Commons debut that would be rigide transfer of mover a 1947 against the Viscot offer went regard ys "Mr Cherly' reped" an embed he expended nevers assetue and eas with a fault charm for advator the fire sic powers of the eigenstick and the action becomes trad a by textical t then asked him if he would advise me how I should proceed if Jinnah a anotrans gost. Me hatten reported the the git about it short alone in and finally same "To begin a the course line of fake awar as British officers. Ove terr to ital voits without British officers. Make it clear to them how repossible it we see by a rap Pakistan without Pritital law. Mourabaster agreed to try and folious some star para. To more my a tant I actually managed to get Church to give La a 'persona' riches. for Jinnah, stating "This is a matter of life and death for Pakistan, if an the not accept this after with and had is " Charehall's words are an weight with Jama's than those of any eather a up person as Mor I are wel, know The final obstacle was now removed from the path to partition. With Churchill, on board, it was "foll shead" for the Mountballen plan, which was to him, two "mot seaton, which here capace exhert cont at a bitter new dominions into the British Commonwealth

On Mooday morning, June 2, 1947, India's teaders drove into the Nov. Court of the viceroy's house in New Delhi Liaquat and Nishtar ananying Jinnah, Patel and J. B. Kripalini (Congress president for suryear), and Baldev Singh, with Nehru. That meeting at which those I have being the first only in the last being but back from Loudon, listed only two h

"The atmosphere was tease," reported Mountbatten, "and I got the feeling that the less the ladders aiked the less the chance of fraction and herbaps the ultimate breakdown of the meeting . . , I reported on the most helpful attitude of His Majesty's Government and the Opposition. the leaders to let me have their replies before midnight. . Jinnah said he would come in person at 11 p.m. after they had seen their Working Committee, I kept back Jinnah after the meeting . . to impress on him that there could not be any question of a No from the Lesgue." That most have been when Mourematten delivered Charelan's message. The vicitor by now thorough! disenchanted with Court by possibly tio is sito an undelivered "message" from Churchill wrote. He m., he n saint but he seems also to be a disciple of Trotale. The Mahatma arrived at Mount batters's advidgor balf in hon latter he others had gone off to read their cope softhe day, It was Candle with intraceracy and sorted has commerts on bits of paper Jimah had also done same dood of gith titur and on itig a scrap bell id that seemed to show rockits, towns rackets, and halloons going and has "Coverno. Unique with a in justes across the center page the Chaid. Again apparently emoving the sight of I s facare table 22

At 11 o clock that right annul can round. He spen half an hour conversing the post of his Working. Our itter against he partition of the Provinces. . . . I then asked him straight out whether his Working Committee were going to accept the plan. He replied that they were "hopeful." I then asked him whether he intended to accept it huns. I to whether replied that he would be provided accept it huns. I to whether he pland that he would be provided accept and and andertook to use its very cost are about 50 get the All-India Muslim League Council to accept. . . . He had called an urgent meeting next Munday. . . . I finally asked him whether he felt I would be stofied to advising the Franci Minister to go a read and make the announcement, to which he replied very firmly "Yes."

Meant salles met to confer with his seaff the new morning and reported list, a Borts Light Juna of accept the new new ling but in amount of pressure" would make him agree prior to his council's meeting

Mounthalten then reminded Jinnah that the Congress Party were terribly suspicious of this particular tactic, which he always used, whereby he waited until the Congress Party had made a firm decision about some plan, and then left himself the right to make whatever decision suited the Moslem Lengue. . Nothing Mounthalten could say would move birm. . "If that is your attitude, then the leaders of the Congress Party and Sidn will refuse final acceptance at the meeting in the mounting, closes well follow, and you will lose your Pakevan, probably for good." "What shut he must be," was his

only reaction, as he shrugged his shoulders. . . "Mr | linnah! I do not need to et you wreck all the work that has gone into this settiemen hince you will not accept for the Moslein League I will speak for them myself. . . I have only one condition, and that is that when I say at the meeting is the norming "Mr. I much has given me assurances which I have accepted and which satisfy me, you will in no circumstances contradiot that, and that when I look towards you, you will nod. . ." Juneah's reply to the proposition itself was to nod.74

The formal announcement was made on the night of June 3. Bhopal, Patiala, and the prime mansters of a dezen major prin a states it and the viceros in his ow, office get the copy of the van before it was broadcas, to the work A. 7 th rest a Trisha Batho carrier the public in so in a nen' i aux firs by the viceror the a lower, by separate specifies from Nehru Jinnah, and Baldev Singh. The viceroy announced,

On February 20th 1947 His Majesty's Covernment announced their intention a transferr a power by Jana 1988 hoped that two ic his joss do fir the major parties to cooperate This hope has not been fulfilled . . the procedure outlined below in indies the lest practical aethod of ascertaining the wishes of the people . . . to determine the nuthority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.74

Then followed a provincial and district breaknesses of Pakistan with size lications as to now egislative assembly retrience would be head to der le sy "a simple rajote, for or iga ise partition" pres ne al a vel as national. To "avoid thele." different provinces or parts of an aimness would "proceed independently" and the existing constituent assemble a well as the new constituent assembly a formed should proceed to frain Constitutions" These pothes would be free to tr. a their own rules. His Majesty's Government were now will and to "ast a pate" the June 1 113 dear he and envisioned setting up an informedent hidromorrhin at or governments" by so even ear or date According to Ha Majer is Court ment proposed atred telay legisimion "during the trent a soon for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement," Mountbatten concluded."

"I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through the radio tens. New Debut in this less let to be a co-Mountbatten and Nebru had Rosbed their speeches, "It is the first lime I believe that a non-official list been afformed an apportunity to address pro-

ple through the medium of that powerful instrument on political matters. It a gurs well, and hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to exable are to your many as and opin one which will reach you directly afe some pather tear in the end pract of the newspapers. "How the sed he must have been how ground to be seated there addressing millions of listeners-a veritable viceray at long last

fine also sheetly had a middle sing any not land as one "exhert" in League "district" wisht put I This means peace "A Mon on en s press acres in was however more cartious, wise a assession it, and by he will ast works had a Jan Hard Johnan crosed with has sten Ametabad said r such a coper some his some started between though, it first that . . . [be] pronounced 'Pakistan's in the bag!"

On the morning of fer 5. Moral satter a with the political leaders again toute, the mid table in majoffice to line as I clade it stee se consequenes of perton in gar diea breat arreprate departer. In e di was ai piensi to exporte trial both Stores world in the reduct and qual in every way before monthly and that he is not have of a growth aust be different India was once any nevers with surve by the meet Into sentent Promonere to resultand to sente men non recognit he work of the Covernment of Long or extore go solies. Every was very brings, "In

The last meeting of the All odia Mus in magor was seld on New Och s magnificent Imperial Hote co] r 5-10 1947 Sona 125 Mister at a gathered a hat it are ground ha broom iver judging the ish and with the rocket row by one distance and distance the or king Way at to To The at was me at those semptions alarges al pract call quet that long and sed Boths recoderts to real surveyor and prime you to his second not be like, it could not in pro the transaction of this exchand retire a surgery to estimate of hers. as a the Marlatter pared par don but her Jee day But and for William Muslim opposition from every province, orthodox mullabs I'm its lam of harms out it, most to eac from the harpers meritum. ewell are condense a teasion sated the thought of giving Calcuta or e il al "mah ar od our a gi h as de le ha room agains the plane calling it "betrayal," and a "tragedy for Pakistan." Khaksars rushed in and on the refer many the note former brandshing helehas, or sharpened spodes . . shouting 'Cet Jimah' . . . half-way up taircase leading to the hallroom where Jinnah and the Gouncil were in session before . . . League National Guards could grapple with them and turn them back. It took police with tear gas to bring the dis-

birlsance to an end "a Siene fifty Khukant would be anatotic were arrested.

Inside the grand ballmoon, Jinnah was bailed as "Shahenshah-e-Pakistan". Hiterally, "Emperor of Pakistan". In the Pessian style of Iran's monarch, but he was quick to disclaim that title, urging his supporters not to enter the and marking. I am a soldate of Pakistan not us Emperor." Thing, the correlate in case is Valla hibba. I atel sent a transcript of shorthand notes on the proceedings presumably taken by a Congress spy" to Monard notes on the proceedings presumably taken by a Congress spy" to Monard notes on the proceedings presumably taken by a Congress spy" to Monard notes on the proceedings presumably taken by a Congress spy" to Monard notes on the proceedings of the interaction of the change of the plantax a complex of the Plantax a requirable and por manner. "If Italia added the Plantax a requirable and por manner. "If Italia added the plantax a complex of the Plantax a requirable and por manner. "If Italia added the Plantax a requirable and por manner. "If Italia added the Plantax a requirable and por manner."

That League resolution caused a howl of indignation" from the Congress press and solute letters of protest from School and Patel "who we in Month of the European School that the wood a not I label to among the All and a Congress Committee in sea of the Indian of the Indian that All and a Congress Committee in sea of the Indian as a solution at definite announcement that they accepted the plan as a solution in Italies added! Machine zealots were, however, even more outrop of how has from the original Pokastar Indiand Jin. It has gone toward as a plan he plan and Bahmat. Mas Europe School Miner ent. Couldn't be now denounced it as "The Greatest Betrayal" to the "whole Millat (Missin Community)," writing.

It has now been completely betrayer, bartered, and dismembered by Mr. Jinnah, whose not of accepting the British Plan shatters to foundations of all its nations and countries and sabotages the forth of all its 100 million members living in the Continent of Dirns. . . . unless millided, it will forever cripple the life of the Pak Nation, blight the existence of the Millat in Dirila, and comprosuse the free-dom of the Fraternity throughout the world. . . We will carry on the fight to the end. . . . We will never quit or capitulate . . It shall never be said of us that, when the time came to choose between the great at the set of Nation in the countries of the countries of the countries of the countries. It we too tollowed the quislings and chose between . . . Lang the The Millating.

The first meeting of the interim government's cabinet following the anrounced plan almost led to a fight between Neuri and Linquist over Jawalarial's appointment of his sasce. Middar, e-Pandet to be an an assador, at which boint Mountbacker should. Then then, what hopes have we of certifing a peace-able partition if the first discussion leads to such a disgraceful actine as this?" The answer, of course, was "None?"

Karachi-"Pakistan Zindabad" (1947)

On Ji no 20, 1947— embers of the bengal legislative assembly voted for partition of their province by a large impority. Three days later the Financiasse 1 by remain a pt 1 for a single Constant solution to the community remains his largest match of Labore and American to the ground solution by legislature also voted, 33 to 20, to join Pakistan. Thus we can be look upon the creation of Pakistan on the 15th August as legally ferrice upon," Mountbatten reported on June 27.

Jinnah was invited into the viceroy's office that day to sit with Net ... and Pat as we' as fair that due Burney in a new partition con all which addressed itself to the creation of boundary commissions, Four 1-1 court adges two closes by Campass at two by the Transport to the each commission for partitioning the Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah magastad Britain's distinguished sources for Cons Radelife to man those hour f commissions had affe who have never over vision India, and expresses no known opinions on its problems was unanimously accepted and would will decide the destiny of millions of Hindus. Silchs and Muslims by the of his repeatedly required vasting vote Nehr 5 (bsequently exp. so. 1. magivings about Radchife because of his close Cornervative associations. and he arged that the federal court serve instead as final arbitrator, he Ir nah was admar I opposed Rade the mached New Della on I giving him precisely five weeks to draw new national boundaries across whose these a term disputed by both logalities approximately 10 million refugees would run terrified in apposite directions.

Separate committees went to work to partition the army and other ments of the vast administrative machine that had kept British India

ming for some marry years. Mounthatten hoped and indeed expertee to be asked to stay on as joint governor general over both new dominions, as once symbolizing their triends, and continued ecoperation is one expediting the process of the final division of assets in an equivalue margin form hours hear nothing of that, however, insisting he must become governor-genera. of Pakston himself Jamait suspected both Mounthatiens of men favoritist to Congress knowing how into sale they were wit. Nahru, air, feared nat I akistan might be compromised or possible suffer as a steelahle under Mountbatten, Jinnah was also scutely conscious of the tuberculosis consurring los hings and knew little time removed to his life. He was eager to enjoy at least a taste of power to which he had given so men or as a p of a As I fille interster however he would give been say thed with dath pelaced as well as administrative risponed to a and pre-creed to leave t ose to a longer time Billing governor general a old roke him ever move with Mountbatten, Attiee, Smuts, and all the other heads of dominions of the Concentrate as work over It was veril through sork worthy of a Quart Asian. And it soon of a fitting first and only pushfor for lar to hold in the nation he had need

It will be remember d that I reported to the Catanet Committee that I reported to the Catanet Committee that I had put to the first a second of India. Mountaintees and to Just 4 before I went to London I as to see that although he the ghi we Governor Gener Is would be better than one he asked he specifically to stay of any arms or anor Cental near the all two. Mountaintees could not get entirely expressed as year to see the and the stay of the outside to provide that provides a weekly investigation and the stay of the form an answer to the out governor general idea have were all so institutes to institute.

Indus has Pakastan depended mitach on British officers to hend of hier a litary size, s, while Field Minesha it is need to all command of both downton argues for against half a year follow.

August 15: Mehru, like Jimah, depended on several British governors, cat m, for joins to let it of domest and for Articabare No. + Madras to serve independent India in their same official capacities. Nothing Mount-batten could say made Jimah budge from his resolve to take direct control of Pakestan. After much soul-searching, considerable misgivings, and further consultation with Landon, the Mountbattens decided, nonetheless, to the unit in New Delhi for almost another year, as originally planned.

"In moving the Third Reading of this Bill," Crip is informed the Commoni on July 18, when he opened the final debate of the Indian Independence Bill, "I am introducing what will be the last Debate in talk Finale on Indian affairs.... This Bill will launch ... a new and, let us hope, a happier era "a Allee conouded the debate that passed this historic measure, thus setting up two "Independent Domanocas" at India and Panistan on August 15, 1917. On Frida. July 9. King George VI added his tallsman'r seal of assent to the new act.

Januah held a gress conference in mid-July and "assured" minorities in ats in, notice do annou that they would have "protection with regard to their religion to "I to properly and culture. They would an all respective citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination... The same principle and would apply to the minorities in India as well. ... Mr. Jinnah singuersy hunced that the relations between Pakistan and India would be friendly and cordici.

"I resigned hyself fetalistically to the coming disaster." Penderel Minn wrote that July "It was easy to pred et disaster that what was the extent of the additional that what has the extent of the control of the control asker for its amount of the control asker for its amount of the control of the control

In New Delhi the interim coalition government virtually ceased to fortion. Nehru and Liaquat were barely speaking to one another. Separation of the following those last frantic weeks when the assets of a subscription of the most hasty, haphazard fashion—much the ways a boarde divorcing couple might of an evening sort out their present Covernor general lesignate and was own selfic his to see set the massion in New Delhi bringing a handsome profit from a Marwari mechant, and the estate stop Maasbar Hill in Bondany going to a Wessendand of the European consulate Fatima supervised the packing, for all had to be always for the following week of historic corrmon. Meanwhile Mountly also preoccupied lumiself with matters of vital interest to an admirat of the

I got both Jinnah and Nebru to agree that the Navies would fly the white cosign at the ensign staff and the Domaion Flag at the jack staff and that the Gover one General would fly the regi at Dom won Governor General's Flag, with the King's creat and the name of the Domaion. When I showed Jaman he design of his new flag he ammined that he had changed by mind and he intended to design his own flag with his own monogram on it, and he regretted that he could not allow his ships to fit the whote ensign. He was only saved from being struck by the arrival of the other members of the Partition Council at this moment. However, I sent Limay round to heat him up as soon as possible and junial channel that I not that the time the structure of the structur

The Mountlattens invited Junal, and Futura to thus with them on a day law 25, and as Campusing only House guests and so no of Mountain on and allow comprising only House guests and so no of Mountainers shift Junals one detel our publised he conversation by cracking a series of very length and general, which wokes When Mounthatten as the even out the movers timely to keep to the guests according to the guests according to the guests according to the guests according to the mounterpred according to this words to had Mountainer and law hear this one. It is cestor as not diverging a future mechanist trip did not make the control of the control of

The rulers of the princely states all knew that by August 15 they had to to to the or the at its document since British parametric and its procedure une rella would risappear from there are so that day be maderaja, nawab, and tazam fround it almost impossible to decide who have to jump Bhopal, in Central India, chared at the bit of integration into a dominion toward which its nawab felt the strongest personal alipath). Kasharir and Hyderahad were to prove the most difficult problems. The Hindu maharaja of Kasharir, Hari Singh refused to join either dominion, fearing he would be dethrened by Jimah for roligious reasons, set Thating Schru with a bitter batted because of his speculast productional democratic demostrate demostrate her nitron of Hydera had printered to join Pakistan, if he was not alkewed to remain ind spender to but autronized as in

was by Indian territory and with 85 percent of his state's population filledu, he was forced the following September by "Operation Polo" to integrate his domain within the Indian union.

Mahatma Candha trekked off to Noakhali in Bengal to seek to calm communal passions there on the eve of partition, and rouch to Mountbattens callight

Gandhi has aunounced his decision to spend the rest of his life to Pakistan looking after the minor ites. This will unfuriate jinush, but will be a great relief to Congress for, as I have said before, his influence is largely negative or even destructive and directed against the only man who has his feet firmly on the ground, Vallablibhai Parel.³

Jinnah picked Lieutenant-General Sir Frank W Messervy, the commander of the northern army of Bertsh India, to serve as Pakistan's first commander n-chaef and Sesser's summed a road disturbal request to Mountlatten, warning that the North-West Frontier defence for would full from sixty-seven battalions to forty-five, a number of which were only be a both rength "immediate after August 15, 1947." "In good 1 — new steeding western sugressive receipting at 6,000 d adulated but a Misson nor of the warning Afghanistan against seeking any border changes."

I maith and he sister flow out at New Delt was a section of Desota on the thorning of August 7. The sames if a mile's virt was the at the apport of Karachi, and cheers of "Philistim Zindabad" reverberated across the sands of find and cehood over the Arabian Sea. Belugees kept pear united Karachi, along core your as the presences port gress over pith. It a national capital with its population doubling within a motter of month for a population of the ground of the input for the input government hums of months the readance of the government hums of months the readance of the government to see a find a local about to become Jinnah's last bungalow. Walking up the steps of the white Victorian manuson, Jinnah turned to maval Lieutenant S. M. The intransferred from Mountbatten's staff to the Quald-4-Azan's, confessing 10-you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime. We have to he very grateful to God for what we have achieved."

Two days later, Sind's governor-elect. Sir Chulam Hidavatullah, Jonah's old Bambay comparton, gave a posh party in honor of his pleader at the elegant Karachi Chub, where jumah said "Yes. I am K 10.2 born, and it was on the sands of Karachi that I believed marbha in my hood I was schooled at Karachi. . Let us trust each other let udge by eas list no by theories. With the help of eyen section— less 10.1 in by theories.

every class is represented in this huge gathering-let us work in double shall it necessary to make the Sovereign State of Pakistan roams happy really united and really powerful. 16

Pakistans constituent assembly met in Kurachi for the first time on Auzust 1, and mamma se careful Junua to preside over its meetings, and muderous uppulse as its first business. Jonal took the chair chanking the assembled delegates for

the greatest bonour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to comfer-by electring the as your first President. . . I smeerely hope that . . . we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform that it is the try merina and respons by ass of training one for the constituent Assembly has got two main functions as a full and compare Sovereign body as the Fed val Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can. . . ⁴⁴

Then he seemed studdle december 2000 and a see a particular of the seed of the

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foreerost thing that I would like to emphasise is this—remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and von have got all the powers. If therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this ..., You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a contract of the same the same that I would be to save and religious beliefs of its subjects are all, pursies ted by too State.

Il expected by notice of complete appeal

curses from which India is suffering ... is bribery and corruption. That really s a poison We or st put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible. Black-marketing is another curse.... I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colosal crime against society in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food. A citizen who does black-marketing commuts, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grisvous of crimes. These back agarketeers are really knowing. The agent and critically free possible people. ... I think they ought to be very severely punished, because those undermine the entere system of control... and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The noxt thing that strikes me is this Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us . . the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relamiliesby. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any land of pobbery, nepotism or any anasence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. . . It know there are see it was upon the principle of the division of India and the paration of the Puopal and beingal. If ich has been said against it bethew that it has been need the I shall be a compact of its to love upon that it has been needed to the division of everyone of its to love upon that it has been needed to the division of everyone of its to love upon that it has been needed to the division upon the division of the love of the love upon the love upon the love of the love of

But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwase than what has been done. . . A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of peops who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgement there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution. . Any dea of a Linted India could never have worked and in my judgement it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct, may be it is not, that remains to be veen. 12

He seemed anable to move his round from that aversome question. For the first blue he pends hallenged has no helpe to women to be did at might not have been correct, seasing perhaps that the worst part of the drain—the true tragic algebraic of partition was about to begin, the analogue waiting behind this "eyelonic revolution." All the same," he consider that the part has uncharacteristic troubled monoringue of reflection before the parameter you have near the parameter you have near the parameter you have nearly against a taken and kharis trying to father in

well as follow his every word in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other."

Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan heppy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet on are bound o succeed a vocchange your pas and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, easte or ereed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make

I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that apit that a corrier of the and these angular-ties in the happy and the minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community because even as regards Miscons and have I have I have I make. Shias, Sunnix and no on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Nashmans Khatris, and Beng on a Madrices and so one will vanish Indiced at one ask me firsh has no that I goest or input in II work of India to a min that I couldnesses the properties of a libration that it couldnesses that properties of a libration that it is not only long ago. **

What a remarkable reversal it was as though he had been transformed so might over again unto the old. Amhassador of 17 nd. Must in 10 mg that Sarojan Nada loved. As mind was accing too swith for regard colored, almost tree viassociating as he can use extemporaneously. Was in find, over now? Or was it all just about to login?

You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. . . . You may belong to any religion or caste or creedthat has nothing to do with the business of the State. . . We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government Today you might say adjusted the north of a distinct new exists now is that every man as a catizen, an equal citizen of Great Britam all members of the Nation 4

What was he talking about? Had he sail my forgotten where he was Had the evelone o events a lisonanted free that he was arriging the opposition's brief? Was he pleading for a united India-on the eve of Pakis are before those hundreds of thousands of ten field innocents were statishtered fleeing the r homes, near fie as their ancestra. Iflages and unmand to an eter- to or ablivion or a retagge cam, in a strange and? Now the governor-general-designate continued, "I think we should keep in front of us as our idea, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be I, roos and Mas his would cease to be Mus ans not a the religious same, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the inditional season as come of the State. I shall a ways be guided by the been ples of a street and forpias without any as is put to the post ical lang age preparate or Twil as other words, partially or favour tism Migood to prompte a see and condete in sait pality and I am sure and with your samport and a moration I am hock forward to Pas stanbecoming one of the greatest Nations of the world."16

Yet even as he concluded on so optimistic a note, rainor had reached law, at \(\alpha \) as well as \(\alpha \) is that \(\alpha \) it is at \(\alpha \) it is at \(\alpha \) it. The thin the state of \(\alpha \) is the read secret to \(\alpha \) is the secret to \(\alpha \) is

Jiniah and Fahma awaited the Mountbattens not at Karachi airport but used the extracte half or government bains: which had been decked to look just like a Hollywood film-set, and all four were subjected to takings and re-takings under the dazzling light and sizzling heat of the areas ps. "I'm ahme attacked a new of at the zine at which the too for the Mountbattens there that night. Liaquat and the other League leaders who had latened to his disjointed ramblings before the constituent assembly then insisted that he read from a prepared text, since the entire diplomatic corps as well as world press would be represented in the bainget half, He rose to adjust his monocie to his eye, infolding the text of any softly, slowly, "Your Excellence, Your Highiness, and Ladies and Com-

themen. I have great pleasure in proposing a toast to His Majesty the king "18 The words had been fashioned for him by the best of his bright coung carris Nothing to due toas was himbs—only the frait conce this read it along in such particle approclass highest account "fiere I would ake to say. Your Excellency Lord Mountbatten, how much we appreciate your having carried out whole-hearted the policy are the practice dust was laid down by the plan of 3rd June. Passitian and Hindustan will all the plan of 3rd June. Passitian and Hindustan will also a strong upon using it as a strain or is followers will did recluig a a more appropriate appellation for Palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain or palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain of palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain of palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain of palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain of palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain of palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as a strain of palestin's neighbor than "fine it would was did as the strain of the same at "kistory's major river artery, the Indus."

Manusbatter set at device between Mes Jinha, and Begain Latignat Ali Khan and i perted. They both polled on leg about the radius, i cere-to-ness of the same graphs of his as rology is a responsible. Government could be give set by as rology is a refrequent for recording that the world kind to pregram of his lad to be diagrant for as I is all had a spotter that the as Bay way and had but to change for much array had himself suggested to a dinner party."

Not informing the January drove from the government house to the goldstyre asceroble all nong to retering a site route apied of the officer as well as poseen a rised to watch for possible assuments in or responsibilities as well as no sessional paradition the day largestration of a Sish. Tan to assument Januar for the day largestration of the story of Maria and Story of the several does care to the and should not form the day of the several does care to the and should not form the day of the several does care to the story of the several transportance of the assument to the story of the several transportance of the sev

Your Excellency. I thank His Majesty on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself. I once more thank you and Lady Mountbatten for your kindness and good wishes. Yes, we are parting as friends. and I assure you that we shall not be wanting in friendly sptrit with our neighbours and with all nations of the world?

Lady Mounthatten pressed Mass Jinnah a hand affectionately as Jinnah sat skown after giving his address," a witness reported "H Jinnah s personali y to cold and remote. It also has a magnetic quality—the sense of leadersh. 2 or almost overpowering. , Here indeed is Palistan's King Emperor, Archistop of Canterbury Speaker and Prime Marister concentrated into one comidable Quarde-Azam."22

Mountbatten was still worried about a possible assassination attempt a cleared that if it was going to be treed against Jinnoh there was the tane with the as governor general should be driven back to the government musa in an open carriage. "It occurred to me that the best way for me to the cetum would be to insist on one rid ig in the same carriage you see."

If it often recades, soming I know that no one in that travel would want to tisk should, me. And suck hit workes behat full but such wis I in a you we know that so some did we get mind the gates of taxen and Hower than as tapped, my know and said. Thank God I was able to bring you back alive!"

The Mounthaltens flew to New Delhi that afternoon for another round it is not pricence in the atoms at the is to be direct assembly and Red Fort where the retector of India's dominion was raised at midnight. "Long entrago we made a cost wit distant, Neuron of orned his nation me is a transcribed when we shall redeem our preage. At the stroke is a many it has when it work also per field a wall was to also and feedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we stay at from his add to a new when an age ends and when the sou of a matter, long suppressed, finds utterance."

The act reprining the fee "awards" were revealed, and as we broken, and the she should be segan. In and around therefore hand so that the second feet white in and around the Mosting stags many of the "pelice share and here knees are optically and around another than and Sikiss before that it is of reference and of the agent the is and Sikiss before that it is of reference as a reprint and around another than any coffess for the purpose on where took feet noticed will true flesh and should in those final weeks of August than the rathers for shad employed in a century.

In Bengal Gandhi fasted on Independence Day knowing how many were condermed to premature death by that double-dominion birthelay. In Colunta all businesses closed in terror for two days, August 15-16, the latter deemed so "inampiatous" by Handu astrologers that no religious Bratiman acced to leave the safety of his home. The Mahasabha raised black dags in opposition to partition, the vivincetion of Mother India, Addinast Hindustan, Canasta, Muslims lied, shrank, and bid as panie, "crowding together for sanctuary in certain predominantly. Muslim areas of the city," General Tuker reported "described, leaderless, depressed and on the defen-

sive? Sandy was restored to that premier city or easiern Ind.a. way of the Gandhi undertoos a tast unto death to heap stop the killing of anocents.

The austory Muslim month of Ramazar ended or August 18 and Jonnah broadcast an Id day message to his nation, amounting that

This day of rejoicing throughout the Mashin world so aptly comies immediately in the wake of our national State being estall shee, and therefore, it is a matter of special of pricates and happiness to use all so the form of the forest pays that God Almighey make us all worths of our past and heart his one and go a strength of the Pakship truly a great action amongst all the values of the world No arthough the pays and the value achieved Pakship but the soil of the forest responsibilities have the truly a great shared be our determination and endeavour to discharge them. **

But the strength had gone out or how, by cound carry on one after longer and longer inter ades of rest in loss lonely wis war,g of the government house where only Fatoria, the secretarily and Isoronias were permitted. Fatoria saw it most clearly. She is one was cross enough to see that

even in his hour of triumph the Quarde-Azon was gravely ill. If watched with arrow and particle had little or on a, but a and had even lost his a way to will howself this c. A. If it is no encoded with reports from both sides of the border of his rows gitares or mass cre, rape arom and loting He began as one discussing these mass is long with me at healthast, and his handkerchief turtively often weak to his most even.

The Constitution had to be framed, and is applied his man to this as often as he could. . He worked in a frenzy to consolidate Pakostar. And, of course he totals in a could be hearth and his coughing and slight temperature were high rang. which me more and more At my mastener he agreed to be examined by Colonel Rahman his personal place and, who had an average to medicine, said . . "I don't have malaria. The Quality who had an average to medicine, said . . "I don't have malaria. I are just run down." Asked to rest he rephied flathy. "I have too much to do." "

He did not in that but realistle had consumption, soon to be compounded by cancer of the lungs.

In Knard Listoniko, dar usually started at 8:30 A.M. when he seated at is below the argument of the his papers were stacked, with his third tracer or girth, away at head out to anothe box at 3 gb published to a seat of the argument of the control of the many below the property of the mathemather added decamp. Brigadies Hussen recalled.

Jimah's frugatity had been, of course, well known, but since the hirth of Pas stan he had better reason perhaps than over to guard racti rupes for ne found, as he told Begue Shall Nawaz, one twent crores [30] means rupees in the reason of one perhaps to the crores of alls I ag on the table "** Nor was India wing to pare with substance, under course safed in Pas stan by the formula agreed into the significant particle particle as assets of the littled, rule Path and Bender were specially loather to our Pakistan with the wherewith a high India-whether in the Punjah Shall Rushmir or Bengal.

Jonal, kut a how precarious Pakistan's pasition. He has own health was and served a suite or or the press or Argust 24 1967, and not affect of the grave amost "created by the dark news or the "outrages" perpetred diagnost Alushina radia is less Punjab. He assured to people the Pakistan was doing all in its power to "give succour and relief to the vicitims" and to help evacuate Mushims from removized districts and States.

In the last work of August, the Mayor of Karachi and his county as presented an "address of welcome" on vollum encased in silver to these O tida Azar was responded to the oli Monta Corporator Born man I should are a count of would be another a ple in hor ! "have kept to be as a cool at I have an early a most so much "use lapace" is other parts of his samuel next floresseerals refugices works a merchants and their businesses and capital flowed into Karachi from exerthe else by sea and are is we as doing as y roads. Experts year source in its and services were a such lemane that pieces skyrike her For [many in netovia, the hor makes of may lifet it iroportions and in as the Punjab withered and writhed in post-partition terment and pur-Stall began in blosse at with Kanel to both in the vanguage of a couch and development. Pakistan's entire navy, consisting initially of a single frightand a few minesweepers and smaller craft, was based at Karachi, for Chamtagong was still a village lit by kerosene lanterns, a "port" with dock only for two ships at a time, at the landing of the British Charlet F. I. Benga, the one building as yet capable of generating its own electricity.

Even as remoteness from the Punjab border offered Kirachi breath a space of which to prosper, proximity left Labore a shambles, the target 1 endiess streams of destitute refugers, much as Amritsar and Delhi the became. The sick and dying brought every need, demand, and physical bright with their battered bodies to a city whose housing shortage had be no tripled by arson and whose water map his was infested with the warst deases of dead and disintegrating corpose thrown into districtive. He returns more near and once beaut his Maghall gardens were turned acrowded camps or Mishler retugers hering take personation. Much in

"everyone's surprise" ²² Jimah attended a Joint Indo-Pak Defence Council merting chained it Lalium by Minimostter, at the end of Avgust. His doctor's orders and fever notwithstanding, the Quaid-i-Azam flew into the Punjahi capital to see for banksh how antih dread—damage and been done since his last visit. Give more for branchs Muche for her his governor or high had been appointed by Jimal to replace by Elian Jenkah on the eve of independence Jimah liked Mudle and lived with him in Lahore.

Junish is steed on dismant any the Funjah Recordery Force that Mounthatte had are ared a non-invarient or aid, had proved only as less as the base of the try first just that exceed. He professed to have he Mistra troops of the 50 officeran on their mode. He professed to have he Mistra troops of the 50 officeran on their mode. Parktars condens, she ad they be repared ensewhere the near tuber. Rashmon's II he ped to remain sadependent is vice. Inglight and had also refused to just both in one to transpirally expenses to a 3 miles and so a seek "3 overeing a warm were Miskin II her bad had also refused to just both and to get so it regimes in agence" reported early of Suptember that the impair's givenment was trying the professor. It gets to Coophismovakia and a get ration who did to see parely over the conditions of the professor of the period of the professor of the professor of the period of the per

to depend from every and later to recommender Mir coask A. I must super-interaction disciple in the mixam's inner circle, recalled

On more than one occasion we discussed the Pakistan Plan . . . and what would happen to the rest of the Muslims and the Muslim States, particularly the State of Hyderabad, One evening, early to September [1947], I received a long-distance call from Karachi the Governor-General. . . He . . . told me that the first delega-Hon of Pakistan to the United Nations would be leaving shortly for Lake Success and he had included me. . . . I mildly protested that 1 . . was too involved in my affairs and suggested that it would be more appropriato if some one from Palastan takes my place, ... I met Mr. Immah it Karach, he at the very start elaborated that Pakistan . . . was in orgent need of finances. . . He was aware of my personal contacts with the financial circles . . in the USA and some parts of Egrape. . He said Pakistan would accept any reasonable terms and offer "quid pro quo" short of affecting its hard carned sovereignty . . when I returned towards the end of Octoher, t. . managed to journey to Lahore, and saw him asking in hed The doctors had forbidden victors but I was allowed to meet him for no more than built so have I brookly reported the ithin or to Pakistan was faced with another serious all action ladia had withheld the agrand abare of . . Reserve Banks cash balances amounting to some Rs 55 crore. There was hardly any money to meet the day-to-day expenses and the position was really critical India , believed that this very first blow would finish Pakistan Corld Hydrashad state or the Nizam advance adoquate loan to Pakistan to the over the crisis?

... Never in my life had I seen Mr. Jinnah emotional except on that day He asked me if I had seen the ... refugees as I drove from the airport. ... I had of course Tears rolled down his cheeks several times as he spoke of the mass human meery ... Soon after that the Nizam sanctioned a loan of Rs. 20 crure to Pakistan. Mr Jinnah lost no time in publicly announcing that Pakistan had received a loan of that sum from Hyderabad and ... had no further financial problems ... the leaders of India were just wild and furious over it.

Jimmah had also sent Ispahalu to the United States as Fakistan's am bassados and deput reader of the I'N derigo in which foliage for an user Sir Molann med Zafri, an Khan ed is a man pure used a bade of the Wash ignor for 8 50,000 to serve us Pakistan's Chancery' and wrote Jimnah from New York in mid-September to report having

The super amassine cost \$6,000 and was "cavern green." A convertee B.23 Beechards was to cost more than the encass out dog so Juntar accorded on a Vickers Arms rong instead, the price of which was not untrastinable." In the price of which was not untrastinable.

Junah ordered Laquat to move his cabinet secretariat to Lahore in September and joined him there the following month as relicious at hindle deteriorated to the point of virtual "war "** Armed "convoys" of Muslim refugees envire lane a conkingus through month Sont "intersoncy with special instructions from Nehru and official Indian "escuetis" lamay flaw to Karachi in mid-September to used with Jamah for no less than eleven hours during his two-day visit, reporting himself to have been the first guest at Covernment House since the 15th August," winning over Jirnah amongh to be called a good fellow by the Qualid Azon to his

face ** But the more disturbing part of Isma's report to his chief was that "Jamah was full of wrath against Congress saying that he could never understand these wins hatre is and wis now beganning to feel that here was no alternative but to fight it out."

Before the end of 5 ptersion | much preside depoth to be the amon wealth colleagues for help in lightstay a trace disputes wet its cusest neighbor 17. flood of let gees continued to delige in Pulpab, and each now arrival languages blue legistless, tales of suged and field the haired if Mist ms the a phoint the Northwest auto by mate to excitat for reverge count the models, ago to a passions with name stime I talk pressures for retal aton, and drowing cardion, can becam of little for See Applicable ther pernament an executors of Componwealt, Relatons Office visited Karachi at this time, and London became more conscious of the organics of Pakis and plight and the potential immence of Indo-Pak war Laptas flew to Debr and remained for sexual lights as Mour patient miest in the envertiment house porte tousiv warring lists, before to flew Lack to Labore "Let India go head and compit at act of war and see what has new "to Ismay understood I agent's thinky evid threat as upsarcuit assed at Kashari Mounth a et a hief-of-shift returned to Loudon in early October a strag provers a tagain with I, nall in Karachi, on October 2, Gandhi's seventy-eighth birthday

the processionang maharage of kashmar Ser Harr Singh, righted of ndstronger and word franstan that permitted petron sugmers and other vital needs of that northermost state of South Asia to continue flowing over the Pakistan roads that served as its major highways to the world. Harr Singh knew that time was running out Muslim peasants in Kashmir's worthern province of Poonels were the first to revolt. That September and rafty Getober neighboring Pakistani Muslims crossed the Poonels border to help their co-religionists flight against the indurant's forcest sent to prodown the revolt. By inded-betoker Pakistan stopped all ships ents of visal

st pplies to Kashuur. New Della then "decided to step into the breach and try to send such things as salt, kerosene and sugar" to "olockaded". Srina gar at

On October 23, Brush trucks and jeeps of the Pakistan arms toaded with some 5,000 armed Fashin Africe Waziri and Mahsad imbesored of the North-West Frontie, crossed the Kasanar borger and headed cast along the Wire ffarabad Baranula road but ed to browger bent That in vas in of Kashin r from laks at would intig be called by Pakista a purely "volun eer" action man ortiken spon meousl " by trate it was tushing it the aid o appressed Mislar prothers. But the roaks, petrol, and drivers were are ly standard tribal economical and B tish officers as well as Powstam offic als all aious the airthern bakes, much they traversed knew and supposed even at they did not a health organize or institute that vicient fictions, one from by which Pax stin seen's o have his and a rigger as integra and it is of it arts the action, whose agreety thank gave to k" atral from some separts of the rail restouring and size-M zaffar had a ached how Debto within a conthe light of October 21 and the ex mus. the Paiestance when quarters field of the ed Nov. Delhi's sister-dominion command that "tribal volunteers" had "ent-rad Kashmer Their advance goard ona 35 to 40 rades from Se pagar 1 Mor athatter so crower at covergency rechanged the Indian Determination Compittee the Site of mirrorg and tack agrees to assess the all the arms and average they encled the for pass he indicate resputch to Some gar V. P. A mon was sensitiving over H. sala, a chargets to see if he could convince Harl Shigh to aign an accession agreement at this point. Virginia returned early Sunday morning, October 26, to report to Mount! att Near, and here that the mahara a had gone haprees completely and could "come to no decision." His state's prime minister, M. C. Mahajan later chief istice if India however proved receptive to Menons; sion and returned with him to New Delhi, where he met with Nehru and Paro.

"I requested immediate military and on any terms," Mahajan 22 learning Nehru to "Cive us the military force we need. Take the necession are give what ever mover you desire to the pepular of a learning of the labore and man terms with Mr Jimnah." Mahajan reported that Nehru "became upper" and "angry" at the mention of Jimnah's name and ordered him "awoy," be Patestand him whispering Of course, Mahajan, you are not going! Pausistin. Then Sheikh Abdulah, who appears to have been "liminated from an adjaining bedroom in Nehru's Debti house, and its a "meaning" of the Mahajan is at size which associated belonged Nehru's "attitude."

The next morning the defence council met and decided to arthit the First Sikh Batakou from No. Decided, Senaga. To the early accuracy the morning of the 27th," Mahajan wrote, "I could hear the noise of the pianes fiving over Sardar Baldee Ninghouse where Mahajan spent the ought and carrying the military personnel to Senagar At about 9 a.m. I got a message from 1. Srinagar that troops had landed there and had gone into action. On receipt of this message, I flew to Jammu with Mr V P Menon, 1. Mr Menon and myself met Ris Highious [Hart Singh had driven down from Sinagar to 1982 and 1984 to 1884 there capital at be palace. After so it does not not a docume as were signed which Mr Meron took back to New Delhi. 1. I stayed at Jamant. This was a narrow shave."

Mahajan's aid ingraph all assenue or his list it nortant sequence of events is at critical variance with previous reports published by V. P. Venon and others close to Nehru and Patel and associated with the Govremment of India at the time. Menon insuts that Kashmir's "instrument of accession was as did deleted to Va Den after in Indian pops were flower after a tion in National Annual expents for ever so The actual sequence is of more than and in interest see India's care to Kashing was, or egal ter a based on have a scenned leg timate astrosent of access in which is latting any though the day Man Mon buller, at course trackers up to take at he a new sending tracks wanted be considerable," and if that occurred then two Commonwealth armies, each terned old led by Britis community officers would have and it to first three plaster and one and per or de held it bathe It works there been so grounders so a terby of a dole a conclusion to his last Claukka in India,"30 that Mountbatten had to move heaven and earth to a our so trage a denote next. He had to feet assembled over a homored trinsport cies a las well as morar at Dell'is appose the less han a day a notice, and packed India's best Sich regiment buside those planes, I dog and kept red to take off refore days on October 2" A that he include was the signed accession, which would, he rightly reported to his court falls, a was repos on and conge han skill an armed clash with Pakistan forces to the minimum. I shall relate a little further on how lucky it was that this accession was accepted "40 The crisis situation Mounthatten faced during that last terrible week in October obviously did not permit the luxury of holding a pleboscite or referendam. The tribus were burning looting, raping, shooting, and within a days march of Srinngar-where hundreds of thousands of people were virtually improceed or as Mounthatten quite accurately put it, "time did not of course, permit the will of the people boing accertained first," prior in 10 ng thore guardan troops over the Hima ayan was that separated Delh from Sunagar. By the sume token hen should time permit the indee sion of an automatic maharan who had gone to pieces, field Sunagar and ahandoned his own subjects to a fate worse than death, to stand in the way of their salvation?

"Even after this decision had been reached Lord Mountbatten and the three British Chiefs of Staff of the Indian Army, Navy and Air Porce pointed out the risks awolved in the operation," V. P. Menon reported Bit Nohr asserted that the advision reported that the advision to serving troops would be to allow a massacre in Stringer, which would be followed by a major communal holds as in I did Abreover the British residents a Stringer and Idea (1998). What else could Lord Mountbatten possibly have lance to the face of such dire warnings, threats, and advice? To besitate for even an hour might have proved fatal to so precarious an operation.

On October 27, as soon as Governor-General Jamed, learned of Indias airlif. O Stategia he in red I so acting Britain on madernism and for red I so acting Britain on madernism and for red I so acting Britain on the Brasilian of the original forms which is a first of the brightest of the all row into Kash ration of the Brasilian Brasilian and her from Stateot. The Stateot army was to more to Jammu, take the city does the Martin appropriate The Rose in the Parameter of which is seen ted Kash and for I assistant while saving Surveyage from through a ratio General Cracky referred and cover the saving Surveyage from through a ratio governor general analysis and that the was not proposed to saving the return toons which would inevitably lead to armed conflict between the temporous at the withdrawal. I Bush Officers without the approval of the Supreme Commander [Field Morshal Auchinfeck].

Having just flown in from Kurachi, Jimah was in Lahore at this have and seved with Muce who was inost aggressive and a make to a fewer the phone, wanting to know "Why the hell Gracey was not a rome out Mr. Jimah's orders. What had it got to do with the Supaeme (an mander? What did it matter if the British Officers were withdrawn? Could he not seed the troops on without British Officers? Mr. Jimah insisted on the orders being issued at once." Gracey informed Auchinteck the next day that he thought "Mude had been drinking," and Mounthatten added a his report of this unpleasant incident to the King, that Sir Francis and apparently "lived up to his reputation." General Gracey informed had Marshal Auchinteck from Rawalp add by phone at 1,00 a.a. ao October 27-28 that he and "received orders from Jumph which if obeyed was even and once Stand Down" arder." Ancholock world his cheels of staff it

Lendon on October 28. A "stand down" order meant the automatic withdrawal of all British officers from a dominion army.

The 'Auk' flew into Labore from Delh' that fateful morning of October 28 and was met at the airport by cracey, who stated that the orders Gracey had not obeyed were nonetheless issued to Pakistani troops "to seize Baramula and hipagar also Panihal Pass and to send troops into Mirpiir district of Jammu."43 The supreme commander and General Gracey went to confront Jonah immediately to expige the "chial on a wa city British officers very clearly." A whileless reported to London. Unices, also corp as sized and tary weakness of Tak star will a Treaten on regardlesse cousemences of military potation of what now is emitter or hiday times to corsequence of kaylanurs sudden access or " His a spreach to Junah, Mounthacten reported of Authorities rucia confror ation r Labore was based on he tact that Ind as acceptance of he acless on of Kashmir was ast as legally proper aid report is take as acceptance of Junio gadh's accession, that I idia had a perfect right to send, roops to the St. L. in response to the Mac cocales regies, and on the extreme accioness of the caketa i Aar vegred standed in department of boot Bank Universe. 40 I read withdrew orders. Ascentances was alse to report at the end of his longest day in India's service.

Mountbatten and Ismay flew to Lahore without Nehru on November 1
1947 and east with languat, was was quee with with an ultim test morning in his bedroom.

He was siting up with a rig round his knees looking very ill I began by giving Liaquat a copy of a statement which had been signed by the three India Commanderson-Cinef to ended to dispel the impression with results of the Paisstan Covennment that India had planned the sending of military assistance to Kashin r he fore the tribal invasion began. . . I then went on to explain . . the whole position of joinegath . and of Kashinir, as I saw it it used the same arguments as I later expanded to juniah whom I saw in the afternoon. The burden of Liaquat's reply was that the Maharayal had "brought about a serious situation by allowing his Hindea, and in particular his State forces, to massacre Muslims purticularly in, and across the border of, Jamini . . . Laquat appeared to be very depressed and almost distinclined to make any further effort to avoid war, Ismay and I did our best to cheer him up . . . back us a very friendly at result 4.

Ministrates and fining went off directly to loneb with Januar, and offer finishing their food, accompanied the Quite FAxan to los room

and had 3% hours of the most ardsous and concentrated conversation, of which Kashmir formed the main thems. . . . I handed to Januah a further copy of the Chiefs of Staff statement of events . . . he expressed surprise at the remarkable speed at which we had been able to organize sending troops into the Smagar plain . . . Jinnah's principal complaint was that the Government of India had falled to give timely information to the Government of Pakistan about the action they proposed to take in Kashmir I pointed out, in roply, that Nebru had telegraphed to Liaquat Ali Khan on the 20th, unmodiately the decision to send in troops had been taken. Ismay agreed that the Coveriment of Pakistar should have had the earliest possible notification. . . . To the best of his recollection, Nebru had told an as he 28th that he has kept Linguit As Khan in touch with what was happening. . If this had not been done, the oversight must have been due to the pressure of events, and not because the Government of India had enviling to hide.

Honor some, prins they am, and that the tell grain had arrived after se tomps is a nider and that add not contain any targe of that here for consequences a the ween the two characters in this matter, it merely informed him of the accession and the landing of troops. Continuing, he said that the accession was not a bone fide one since it rested on "fraud and violence" and would never be accepted by Pakistan. I asked him to explain why he used the term "fraud," since the Mahara ah was fully cattled in accordance with Pakistan's own official statement about Junagadh . . . to make such accession. It was therefore perfectly legal, and shall, from head that this accession was the end of a long intrigue and that it had been brought about on a some I countered this by saving that I certails agreed that the accession had been brought about by violence; I knew the Maharajah was most anxious to remain independent, and nothing but the terror of violence could have made him accede to either Dominion: . . the violence had come from tribes for whom Pakistan was responsible. . . . Jinnah repeatedly made it clear that In his opinion it was India who had committed this violence by sending her troops into Srinagar, I countered as often with the above argument, thereby greatly enraging Juniah at my apparent Genseness.48

Jinnah told Mountbatten and Ismay that he had "lost interest in what the world thought of him since the British Commonwealth had let him down when he asked them to come to the rescue of Pukistan." "At the end Joseph became extremely possible the and said it was quite clear that the Dominion of Fight was not to torotte and choice the Dominion of Fakistan."

birth and that if they continued with their oppression there would be nothing for it be to face the constituences. In was not afraid, for the situation was already so bad that there was little that could happen to realize it worse. Issued to cheer him up out of his depression but I fear was not very successful. . . . We parted on good terms "60"

A mood a loud resignation and talk up shrot and much broughout the rest of that last not rever of his bee. His hopes of breaching on cool, he little air of Smagar fack I with each passing in of prototiged fighting as more and stronger Indian torces soul florgo and nick fit Alms and rigular Pak, visit lears' who managed without British support to told a nar rast if Max tharabad him would never read to a covered tale. Dark for a hort paide and on of pacietan were after nor seek as a sn iff on this own teel is earn to choke his product offspring this of week corner on the eve of his issiving Karnets on a part of at my or Justichs de bad been ande by Two mea we are now has a new fices mass d and wenting moon and cross of rights, who re- I was at d at the government noise of pped to solvers, are wounded or pulses afficer before to vices I be trightened affine a way to their this hardsars? Or were they afferent still more type on sever orthogonal don Micros who consider that he hadron you While he had no sed by bleed by user and Mahrelman of any by sprows and the Parable with whose and water I make longer are longer through essen eight ranked his body with coughing and dislouged more blood note his scarred and tired lungs

"That he dota can never so attained by a nation without suffering and weather has been using a barne out by the recent trage happerings in this with out year. Juruth told a mass rall of his compatibility from the autform of Labore's University stadium on October 30.

We are an the modat of unparalleled difficunties and untold sufferings, we have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish. The systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent propile puts to shame even the most believes attractities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the victims of a deeply laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. . . Do not be straid of death, Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should see it bravely to save the bonous of Paketan and Islam. Three is no better submitted for a Mashim than the death of a matrix for a redicious cause.

"It was nother speed that I first heard him speak of death." Fahma recalled. The sufferings of the refugees affected him deep and he went to not again, excausted and tevens. But files kept pouring in mosters and secretaries came to seek his instructions, so peace and rest were impossible "b2".

23

Ziarat (1948)

The "all India" Mushin Laugue council net for the last that Kaor I to December 14-18, 1947. Some 300 members, 190 from India assert sled for exapital of Pakistan and coted as do to he Most in agree when the arts had been so estimated in acree aphenia, more point to some political and into codepondent and separate has to be for a said as much left has sick hed to preside receives form a sixty of his art of some help has sixty and acree and acree and help has another are acreed to a more larger to have the some and the form of control of the some and some areas. As an above the Most in the some rich that it is a said as a shown in Most in the sixty of the said and the state of the some area and, they were demons acid, and help had to selfer anomated. We have a caches and Pakistan, not for the Laugue and or any of our coloragues but for the masses."

Not everyone was satisfied however. Maulana Jamal M an angri virous a protest that "Pakistan could hardly take pride in caching social M sum State." He found many im-Islamic things in the State from top to lootions. . . The behaviour of the Minister is not like that of Mushra. The poor cannot enter the houses of the Ministers, the needy and the lowly caused see them. Only the courtiers can enter, those who possess large lungulows can enter. The name of Islam has been disgraced enough." "We are only a four-month-old child," Jinnah responded, feeling not much stronger himself. "You know somebody would like to overthrow us. I know you would say we have not done such and such a thing, but we are only four months old."

In addition to resolving to divide Riedf and ero, ing Languat Ab Khao convenors of the Pakistan Modun Long, or the Courset placed on record its deep sense of sorrow and its feelings of horror at the widespread acts of organized violence and barbarsly which have taken place, resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, colosial destruction of property, wanton outrages against women, and mass ringration of populations, whereby millions of human beings have been appropriate from their hearths and homes and reduced to after destitution.

The Council also views with grave concern the rising tide of communal antagonism against the Muslim minority in the Indian Union where, in spite of the repeated declarations by the Congress that minorities will be dealt with justly and fairly . . . Muslim life and properly continue to be insecure.²

Liaquat flew to Delhi for a meeting of the Joint Defence Council on December 22 at the time Schrift and of his a letter charging Cartilla tribal "raiders" of Kashinir "have free transit through Pakistan and other supplies are also secured from Pakistan; indeed, we have in able reports that the randers got to the mis flow it lars less in Pakistan The government of India demanded an end to all such ad access, supplies and training. Liaquat promised to reply; and on Deer a by 3, 6, a Near a seed converding afficial econyle from Pakar att. India submitted its formal complaint to the UN Security Council, as a memory orged by Mountbatten but one which Nehru and his cabinet would onagree has by I have takes a marker water the security come to "call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately" to all "assistance" it aim providing frontier triba invaders of Kashmir. In State which has a to the Dominion of India and is part of India," or "the Covernment . India has be compelled self-be in to entire Pakistan contons a order to take military action against the invaders."4

Pakistan replied to India's complaint on January 15, 1948, and in sound legal tassion. Perce Maister Livers An khan crossion all relations that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invadeas or committed any act of aggression against India. And "Pakistans Corollar Against Lidae," Bled the same day in the security council, and an longer document called "Particulars of Pakistans Case" served to place number of broader issues and problems still festering between the low born neighbors on the Council's agenda.

an extensive compaign of "generide" directed against the Mus-Lin is a later to the transfer of A the transfer of the non-Musini Bulers, people officials, police and grand forces of the States concerned and the Union of India , still in progress . . large numbers of Musliurs—numing into hundreds of thousands—bave been ruthlessly massacred vastly larger numbers natimed, wounded and injured and over five nillion . . . driven from their horses. . Brutal and unmentionable crimes have been committed against women and children, Property worth thousands of millions of rupees has been destroyed.

Concluding its cross-complaint. Pakistan asked the security coincil to call point in desist from acts of aggression against Pukistan" and to appoint a contains on continuous of the LN is awartigate all of its charges" and to an artific contains of high larger 1 bate of language matter and elsewhere in the subcontinent A bill of "particulars" added documentation to support these various charges.

Junua had no stength of the New York for a Stichard or and a ord a sket in but for go menter by Mohamed Zitrilla. Kan pretorned by Junta is Pakistan's absocate below the court of the
way to become articulate and of the coursest is present go become at
the factory. India's charges. The secure of the court of the secure of

The first World War of 1914-18 was longht to end war," Jinnah reand on Jamuar 23 1948 manching the LiM LS Inducer "Sword" Pakistan's first modern dentroyer

This led to the birth of the League of Nations and the dea of collective security, but the League of Nations proved only a proughope. . . The destruction caused by the first world war pales into insignificance as compared to the devestation and havoe resulting from the last world war and now with the discovery of the Atom Bomb, one shudders to think of the pattern of future wars. . . . Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defencees in this imperfect world, must aggression from others. . . Pakistan is still in its infancy and so is its Navy

But this infant means to grow up and God willing will grow up much sooner than many people think. You will have to make up for the small ness of your size by your courage and selfiess devotion to duty for it is not life that matters but the courage fortitude and determination you bring to it?

A few days earlier, Muhatimi Guidhi with the last of his facts intodeath, premishing hidnes calend to july its debt of 55 crores of rupoes to Pakistan helping to put an end to the staughter and looting of Mashais in and around Della, which has become so tragic a scandal. Angry Sishs and militant Hardest marched round flora. House with black flags sho and "Let Gaudh, the colling tem "Mohammad Gandhi," state he so ofter advocated Pakisture cause at prayer meetings and read from the Quran And on January 20, a bomb exploded in Birla House compound, but Gandhi had already finished his payer meeting.

To the s later his assume of d not cuss At lus last prayer meeting on January 29, Gandhi said.

It is man was in distress the key to his happiness by a labour God did not create man to eat, drink and make merry. . . . Millionaires who are sethout wors were par the Fronthes should as by the swent of their brow or said high without foo. The only permissible exception was the disabled. . . Gandbiji than spoke about peasants. If he had his say, our Covernor-General and our Precurer would be drawn from the kients [peasants]. . . . As real producers of wealth, they were verily the masters while we have suchaved them.

. It was true, we were all labourers. In honest labour lay our salvation and the satisfaction of all vital needs.

The next even has before in could reach his pracer platform Mahatina Gardh was shot to death by a hard-crazed II nell Brahman maned Nathram Godse

"He was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu comments wrote I also not be seened to him that an orthodox Hindu abould have killed his most transger opportunit of every the Maka ma at "A jent of lakestar as a "Maslim-lover." Norbert Bogdan, a vice-president of Schroeders' thing Group in New York, met with Jinnah in Karachi just a few days to Could at Schroeders' the much more generous terms than he new fit to use in his message achieved did not more generous terms than he new fit to use in his message achieved did not be the more generous terms than he new fit to use in his message achieved did not that . . . the real trouble was with the extremist groups, and he had a favourably impressed by the Indian Government's firm handling of the following on Gandhi's assassination." New Delhi mulawed the heart Songam Seus Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha, putting many of their lead-under Immediate "meventive detention" arrest

Mir Lafk Ali now became premier of Hyderabad, and India's meet was most unsertled by news of the means affectore ham to Daklet accesse of that ham of course Pakistan remanded solvent, and its it and the first product of the second of the se

Chulam Mohammed on February 28. Defence expenditure was projected to be no less than £2" 8 . Then gut of the total as analog expenditure of only £39.4 nation. Revenues were so meager moreover that a defice of 2 % I million was expected. " Samlar y the generation of I had a located over 50 percent of its total budget to arms and projected a deficit of some £20 million. Palostar did its vest to encourage imports from the sterling bloc and the United Stars, but because of its in namal industrial development, the continuous after of retrigers, and poor a greathing output p 1948 revenues ted below autospated totals with its riefle to sooring higher. Ispaham appealed ages book to US support private as well as one of General Motors are oferested in distalling plants ... Pinasana," A nhassa dor Ispalian reported to his great out or that March, wit "turcate ing war clouds" over kashma kept holding their back." The World Back and Export Bank were iss wormed and it aferms shall no all bly but required proper so very and eper yla first liss converted dear. In we had out some negatively looken down to be invaried and of expending and income before doing out any joans. Pakistan was as ver capprepared to present such detailed proposals.

Juniah heriser had to sarry left to work on steel matters. He course of same typahun schiters in more An shi Dans friends from Bombas wis teel hom a Koweln at this foe and fraund by some up at his gaiden at the government he is short Juniah final work up as warspored. I are so tired Juniah struck, so the teel succeed is tired. So seems that the had outlived by forement rival. It was bigh time for him to real, was it not?

Nonetheless his government as sted that he the to Dices that Marca to address the new serve of Polistan's population from their new "group" soil He had not even gone to the hast or set foot in Dacea, the second capital of his nation Great be derithat the was, and answered the call of his nation and addressed a crowd estimated to be over 300,000 in Dacea's mandan on March 21. 948 That was his last major public address control. In the left ared it in high the spoke of a Bengal arranguage audience and informed them "in the clearest language" that "the Stat Language, of Fasistan's going to be RDI are no their burguage, "as This was, of course, the most volatile, divisive issue in Pakistani politics.

Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State Language, no Naton can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned. Pakistan's language shall be URDU. . . I tell you once again, do not fall nto the trap of those who are the enemies of Pakistan. Unfortunately you have

fifth-columnists and I am sorry to tay they are Muslims-who are financed by outsiders . . . you must have patience. With your help and with your support we will make Pakastan a mighty State. . . No amount of trouble, no amount of hard work or sacrifice is too much or to be shirked. . . I wish you God speed.14

He II not live to return however or to see East Pas stan metamorphosed through fire into the separate amon or Ban, adesh where Bengah would become and remain the sole official language.

he Frontier grew restrict restrict as well. Pathans contained to king Jon a state of then we Pash angian and over he Baluel v kept marmo and about a coreater Ball start." So in April Jon di was now i to Peshawar where he had be reak at bearing Cothings and to an force causes at Risa pur and to the incidences at the government beast into them it or open- r one rag is Persuawar while the was drepched to the bone Kithing recoller. The meant two shorts that is had caught a character he is sed some tir setor its me ong to said to accurate colu-This cold was the larger and of the end It Katacoons going a cold most and only when I forced a doctor on him did we learn that he had bronchitis. . ."14 Jamah knew it was much worse than either a cold or bronchatts but and was to the the ristor of are than was absolutely every sury. He understood too wed to had that there eas so ever for listok ress to scaple patent around to to ake his pain away or max. In coughing stop.

In all six items with his closest colleagues deteriorates, rapic. In the And months of his de As he gress wrater and as more concerns a he impractive of death he was less patrons with selficiency and might were one easy angered by the isral excises for tot getting and, a done Between ing he naturally wanted to see sign front progress in its stregging of any land by mid by oil at a "private date execute buch at he name of Banawal ours Lease Trope called I have member ") luncheon conversation with M. A. Khuhro, the then chief minister of Relations between the governor-general and his prime manager conhardly have been less than strained perhaps in that ora of unrelieved tional calamity and stress, financial stringency, and virtual war Lisqua reportedly wrote Jianah in January and offered to "resign" as prime m. ister after learning from his begum of Jinnah's angrily and openly expressed dissatisfaction with his work, Jinnah expressed cipial frustration and disgust at the way the nawah of Mandot, then thief numster of the Punjab. "was uninterested in the fate of the refugees." He called M. outand Governor Mudie to Karachi in Mas and told Manufot, who had his right arm in whoming the Punjan for the Lengue, that The was melent a

a Prome Minister which "Madie reported was only too true He Jimnaby therefore nominated Man Virmias Daultana" to take control of the Punjab in justs but Danatana refused projecting that he had complete confidence in Mandot . . . I [Mudie] knew and he [Daultana] knew that it is did become France Minister Manufact would list about out ins throat Jinnah was very angry and the meeting was adjourned . Jinmah . . . rounded on me. . . "Your policy is weak You've lost your nerve-I asked what his orders for me were He said 'None.' I then asked what his advice to me would be as a friend. He repaid. Was a part pands of them as I am going to do." . . . It was clear . . that Jinnah was far from well Indeed he had to lie down immediately after our meeting "11

In June, Jinnah and Fatima flow to Quetta, where he could breathe the cool bracing a of hid atesta, some an country. Within a few days of he was about sleep and on will the beighing so sided nd his tel quetal to come on commit or med a recalled for the first one no average so red related " On him it all as hessel at it ers of Quetta's Staff Carlogo reflecting techn is has non-co-past gree has about the growing strain to his retainors will the cabin it and other official colleagues.

You, along with other Forces of Pakistan, are the custodians of the bic propose and honor of the work of Pakis as. The Decent but ex are the most and of all Pakastan Services and correspondmight a very heavy responsibled, and outlen lits a your should ders. . . . I want you to remember and if you have time enough you should study the Government of India Act, as adapted for use in Pakotan, which is not present Considerion, that the event ye anthortty flows from the Head of the Covernment of Pakistan, who is the Governor-General, and, therefore, any command or orders that may come to you cannot come without the sanction of the Executive Head 10

The next day he told the Quetta municipality, which presented him with a handsome I med Fine prase, that "uck y Babach at m was spared he trageds which the tre gats went torough on the establishment of Pagistan. . . . Quetta may be as great a civil station as a cantoningut. . a large part of Western Pakistan it will be the natural summer resort. . . . the all alls are the to find to cover of provincialism to ming sway over any section of Pakistanis Pakistan must be rid of this evil. It is a relic of the old administration . . . British control . . . We are now all Pakidants-not Balucher Pathana Studius, Bergalis, Punjahis and so on . . and we should be proud to be known as Passetunts and nothing else "as-

Fatura tried to "talk lists out of" agreeing to fly back to Karacht to

speak at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948, but Jimah uriss ed un going. The flight so "exhausted him" that he could hardly get out of bed" to deliver the speech that was written for him. As Fatima noted. "Those who saw and heard him must have realised that he was not in good health, his voice was scarcely audible and to paused and coughed his way through his speech. When we returned home he collapsed into bed with his shoes on." He had earlier accepted an invitation from the Canadian commissioner of trade to attend a reception that evening to cemerate the my it first anniversary of the dominion. hat was to be the last social function Jinnah would ever attend.

On July 6, Jinnah and his sister flew back to Quetta, but he continued to run "a slight fever," so the doctors advised moving him to even an accelled an a mosphere. Zarat a such flavable but state a first on he and several thousand feet above Quetta, boasted a residency bungalow hold to the British. That hall station was perched, se an eagle at the top of it to there is not was I make ast retreat in the search of the pure enough to save his dy or the like? "Fat am recovered making how her profiler whose condition was deteriorating," liked "the quiet charm."

Lieutenant Colonel IIahi Bukhsh of the Indian Medical Service was sitting out on his linval in Lahore after dinner on July Bi, when Mihammo, Vi, the secretary general it is government to Pakistan phene it may kuracht ordering him to fly "immediately" to Quetta. Dr. Bakhsh was not at the airport there on Friday afternoon by Major General M. A. Khan and Coionel K. Jiham, who drove with him in the governor-generals car to Zanrat. "Nonordy knew what he was safter og fessen," recalled Bakksh. M. I em ld gatter was that he althought opening and patent medicines and preferred to be addressed as Sir' and not as Your Excellency." "18

Fatima brought him to his great leader's bedroom the next morning.

I found the Quaid-4-Azam Iving to bed facing the door He looked shockingly thin and weak and had an ashen grey complexion..., as appearance that normang fraghtened are He must have executed the first and enquiring if I had a pleasant journey. I sat down and asked for a detailed account of his present and previous illnesses... "There is nothing much wrong well me," he told me, "except that I have got storacch trouble and exhaustion due to overwork and worry. For forty years I have worked for 14 hours a day, never knowing what discuse was, However, for the last few years I have been having annual attacks of tever and enugli. My docture in Bombay regarded those as attacks of trenchibs, and with the small treat

ment and rest in bod. I generally recovered within a week or so. For the last year or two, however, they have increased both in frequency and severity and are much more exhausting." While I was listening to him I found him losing breath after every sentence and sometimes pausing in the middle. His mouth was dry and he moistened his lips many times while talking. The voice lacked tone and was . . . almost insudible. He had a couple of fits of coughing , . which left him exhausted. . . . After a short pause during which he closed his eyes and looked more dead than alive, he continued, "About three weeks ago I caught a chill and developed fever and a cough for which the Civil Surgeon of Quet a presented princible lozenges. I have been tuxing these since invital 1 - better the lover is less, but I feel very weak. I don't think there is anything organcally wrong with me . . If my stomach can be put right I will recover soon. Many years ago I had a rather bad stomach trouble for which I consulted two or three London specialists, but they failed to diagnose my illness, and one of them even advised operation

I didn't submit to the operations and on the edvice of another Lendon doctor went to Germany and consulted a funous doctor. He told me that I had no organic trouble and only needed rest and a regulation of diet. I stayed an his clime for a few weeks and recovered completels in 1994 I was composed to the local a ductors of the suffering from heart disease, but a heart specialist in Germany assured me that my heart was perfectly normal."

assured me that my heart was perfectly normal."

The doctor asked too governor general to remove as sik py ama op so that he could listen to his heart, "I observed with dutress that he was twich thence than he appeared with clothes or and could no make out how he had managed to surve and work a second advanced mage of emaciation. . . , I had some equally severe cases among the prisoners of war at Singapore. . . . The physical examination . . dimmed my hopes, bhough I did not revea ups tears to the patient. I expressed a desire there he cravestigated further before Let it give it final angles si but Fifter hat he root mass of the bout lear peared come to his hong casense and not his stomach. The Quaid-i Azam atill believed, however that his privary from a vas the stomach, and arged me to pay more attention to it Bakhsh did not ignore his nationt's concern and prescribed a Thigh calorie . . . low residue diet " Fatima "appeared to doubt" the "advantage" of inflicting such a diet on her brother but said nothing, and for a day or two Jinnah are ned to eat better, for the wise doctor also prescribed "a degestive unxture."

Bukhali did the best, in fact, that any medical pro-titioner could have those the "rang of" the civil success from Questa, who drave up to Ziara

next morning with his clinical pathnogest and bringht along his microscope and reagents to test ji reach's brood sputino and do the usual laborators work. Their lab fine ongs confirmed the colonel's suspicious? With so important a patient, however, further corroboration was considered essential before stateaucing hope to the fato' disease that was consuming as hugs. So bak ish which his own hospita in Labore and ordered three of as best specialists to fix to Zarast telling one of their to our lines, our table xiray along Then he is new karach to special nice cours. Within the 5000 feet phose sea, via to Zarast, her oncontrated in the diving old minimum of the property of the original and many "bords, can "like the ance of 25 million in a Mose, dama area of all the day of a review of the remains of a got king Bashish regalled.

While I was telling him the grave news I watched him intently He . . remained quite calm and all he said after I had flushed was, "Have you told Mus Jimahe" I replied, "Yes, Siz . . I had to take her vio configure." The Q and Azara interrupted as and said, "No, you shouldn't have done it. After all she is a woman." I expressed regret for the pain caused to his inster . . . The Quaid-Azam stened patiently and in the end said, "It doesn't matter, what is done is done. Now tell me all about it. How long have I had this Jiseasc." That are the "him evidence of my reversioning in How one will be treated at last? I should be to know everything and violings not hesitate to tell me the whole tristh." . . I replied that I . . . felt onfolious that with the aid of the latest drugs there should be a fair chance of a considerable improvement."

Ispania, flow a from New York that work and offered to arrange for any line or, and from americal that might be needed which be a control to bring, in a "special plane" of the Bakash bill off a document about the nature of the Illness—which, of course, I could not reveal Bukhsa nated. However, planess—which, of course, I could not reveal Bukhsa nated, however, planess—which, of course, I could not reveal on the interview he came downstain visibly moved. I boped he had not betta ed his attactly before the patient of Indicated a large transfer of the repeated his offer of medical hep from America. In But there was nothing any American doctor could have done that Bukhsh was not trying to do. No care had been discovered for the tuberculosis-turned-to-fung-curpoer that had by then almost totally consumed both of his lungs.

Laquat arrived shortly after Ispahani left and spent about half is hour done with Junah He must have seen what anyone allowed close enough to look could have seen—the governor general was dving. The Quaid-s Azam would soon to be so more, and the border of leading Pakistan would fall upon his shoulders, his moer, his life, Fatima, who had never reals. Used other Lagrar or his begut - jur aps she brained them both for helping , are Jamal, back to Inc. a from his Hampstead retreat where she and her beloved brother might have lived their lives out in peace and uset contentment subseque at reported that after Laquat left, Jimah told her with trembling voice, "Do you know why he has come? He wants to know how serious my liness is how for hit will still It was don'these tran verbardly as opprobrous as Patima considered it. under the circumstances. There was, after all, still a nation to be runmillions of displayed persons to be few and circu for to undeclared was it Kash are a be time, this post totally to be drifted less by Belgian in Pathans Bah, his Pomphis and Sindis so: show to be a tisfied. To I iaquat a laplaced Nav. iz ida from the Unted Provinces and Ox ord, A must have seemed odd to be there in Zaarat, still a mere "courtler" to that experious regal haple though as was its lifes three. The print turnis forwardd have lettly more than three years after I much hed on one a stred assaxin's to Bet clained his life in 3rd-Detaber 1951, and awal ands. Dr. Bakhsh remarked of Leaguat

Downsture in the drawing round I met the Prove Mr ster. He are sously enquired about the Quald-t-Azam, complimented me on his ong won the first round by accuring the patient's confidence, and expressed the hop the two lideant bute trees recovery. It assourged me to probe into the root cause of the peristent disease. It assoured than the drap, e the Quad. Azams set as wondition, there was reason to hope that if he responded to the latest medicine which had been sent for from Karachi he might yet overcome the trouble and if at the root hepotic feature was the patient's strong power of resistance. I was moved by the Prline Minister's deep concern for the bealth of his Chief and old comrade.

Strepton was arrived and was admin stered but "miracie drug that at was it could not in ever the impossible. Nor did the Id pray its of Justice as a property of the mission would not a consider the pray that an ad elser are throughout the Muslim would on August 7, suffice to turn the inexorable tide of the use now seems that slot I mean me has being 6% a good 9 edema of the feet set in, and the medical staff surrounding the Quaid decided it would be best to remove him to a lower allitude. Ziarats rerefied atmosphere appeared to be imposing too great a strain on his failing heart and kidneys. Injections of commons and ultraviolet therapy proved useless, Januah, lowever, was reluctant to move anywhere especially on he eve of Independence Day, which was prechedy when Bakhah advised delving

him down to Quetta. "This is impossible" the governor-general repited. The carliest would be the .5th." They teared that care might be too late enlisting Fahima's support in pressing him till at last he agreed.

Jinnah's final journey home began on Angust 13 at 3:30 ran. He insisted on wearing "a brand new star at ha t e to match, and a handker chief in his vanity pocket." Fatima recalies. I he post him put on his polished pump shous H, was breight dow on a stretcher and was placed in a seen, seed any position in he hack of the big Humber car in which we have first to Queeta. "Is Though many recautious had been laken to keep the move "op see set chroning crowds him the mad along their winding descent. The Humber had exact cars and a prep front and rear so it was not a consequent with he governor general's harasome thin flags flying as they be upen down the occasion with he governor general's harasome thin flags flying as they be upen down the ock. I such each tout the had not a home so much and on it posses a constitution of the such about a mile past the flest House, since Jinnah had noticed "about a dozen that the was a been been and wanted no outcome ever secung low weak he was Dr Baktah remembered.

We recorded Quet a day before an set after about four hours driving. The Residency had been cleared of all visitors, and we diffied him on stretcher to his bed-room on the first floor and a commend us place and for addition to the order of the efficient heat according to the administration of the pourney and hoped it would disappear with rest. A Next morning, by good the left was the American of the establishment of Fax stands and the establishment of Fax stands are very fortunate in having brought you down to Quetta without any mishap. It was risky to shift you from Zhazat in such a week state at "The Quard-i-Azam smiled, saying, "Tes, I am glad you have brought me here. I was caught in a trap at Ziarat."

A statement pullshed that morning it Panestar's days new spapers was entired the Quardy Azac's "Message" to the "Citizens of Fax start but was obviously composed in Karnelii not Ziarat.

Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our schlevements has been a wonderful one in warding off the knows of the enemy. . . I congrabulate you all—my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

Januah had written none of R, of course, He wrote nothing any longer and barely glucced at the morning newspapers. How remote that gluttons or ringe ride with Mount atten must have seeped to long on this first anni-

versary the air ringing with shouts of "Pakistan Zinduhod" and his most pressing fear of death then from an unknown assassin's builet. The countless "traps" set for him, some based so handsomely provint at governor prime master langithood be had element them at Diaggers guns, bonds all of them had missed the Grey Wolf. He had proved limited too fast, too elusive, too strong for them.

Jamales doctor was shocked" to bed that his patier a ghed cily gibt pounds II was clear to all those at the Quasir Aza as beds at that if so was ever to return above to I, support, as we lid not to be hower back there very soon Jamale gased for promotion or results and over the last that very S. The doctor promoted to the engagents and over the last that verys. The doctor promoted to be have me engagent or day ordering my monot to mhat. Soon however Bakhshagened to double his "return"

It did us good to see him enjoying it, . . . since in a habitual smoker the first sign of recovery was committed a war to all a smoking . . . Next morning I noticed four cigarette stumps in the ashtray on the table by his bedside . . . the patient had exceeded his allowance . . . Looking at the ashtray, I remarked that he appeared to have enjoyed his eigarettes. The Quaid-i-Axam took the hint, and ingeniously replied "Tee, but didn't you tell me there was no harm in smoking if I didn't inhale?" . . . his mind was regaining its old legal quality, and we welcomed this additional sign of recovery.*

usette smoke did not help heal his hings, however, so the doctors conmited advising him to moderate his smoking and return to Karachi. But his hid not want to go "house" to the governor-general's mansion as an invalid." He suggested a few quieter places on the plains. Sibi and Malir, that hoth of those were hot dust, and remote.

He said to Bukhah. "Doo't take one to Karnelal on crateless. I would to go there when I can walk from the our teeray roote. You know, from the much you have to pass the ADC s room and then the Militars Secretars s be fore you reach rune. I disable being carried in a stretcher from the car to my room. He wanted ions of his harain staff to see him this was soot wrak to stand at Jonah practically stopped calling after August 25 and whenever Barkasi ruged but no take score soot, he was told. Doctor on are overseen up not I have never taken so meditioned he for even when I was quite well. Some ears soo we had a Preopease diplomation has never not not a like a tough persages to was not one of soury. When he had was served I not not have the seap when it was served. I not not have the seap when it was served. I not not have the seap when it was served as the first was not one of soury. When he had was served as the right touch it, a little test in from asking him the resour of this absolute to medit it. A little test in from asking him the resour of this absolute to medit it. A little that he had been as a gon letting but as it is a were at the more supprised even we be pipe ared to be an were good or after Now do even it is a not no him to resuch a large tone on letting and maintain good health?

Jonah avec of a few opt of tea and coffee and some plan water to swellow his pile life by a sed in to a class others aparted his grown? "Fato I as no diaget is ested in sing the some, go the network of the explanation of the his his month raide. It does not native whether I have not "it too his way a station of feeting in one generally apon as uncomortional and ambending. I had always left that he have a kept going long is his one station of feeting in one generally apon as uncomortional and ambending. I had always left that he have a kept going long is his one of the his an automatic will show the fore greatly do to find that the man of from will had given up the fight.

By Septen ber Jisha, has provinced a wear as to beroless, and constraints of the large life compositive rose to about 100 on the spales of propositionals, sugher and his hearthean was are constrainted in the policy matter logal in was calified to in the Hioshaw of the Mayo Clore in Mannes to the spales was calified to in the Hioshaw of the Mayo Clore in Mannes to the spale was calified to in the Hioshaw of the Mayo Clore in Mannes to the spale in the for consultation, where the form his mannest the rest mortries, Suptember 9 Master, and 8 of 1 has been classified as a Guy's Hospita, in London, where both had received their Mids. And the spales of the s

The governor general's Viking seal two Dakota airplance to carry in

"After we had covered about our or the rows the am adarec congred and or a trait success step. Fire in lines at the fire out, 2 get out or let to tell the trail or out of retrained the cover was a so before the theorem as no brown and the based near was opened to the same that the sound the twist opinesses. To add to bus their original is not of the mean that the original is not to the mean that the original is not the same that the design of the mean that the design of the same that the

Cardillac as it was not big enough for the stretcher "16

Wandering what had impressed as note Bakhs. If got not and found that there had been thresh, as done to be got treathly the low mass and constraint would some unit go not be hidded with the engine for above twents must use and he analys more would not shart. Mass from sent the Military Script as to liter another, as bit and. Dr. Mastre went so, if he

I came sed (w) meah) and we borefied to fine its pulse according weaker and like that I am and month back a thereast flask containing bot ten. Miss fitting quickly gave him a cop. . What a catastrophe if having survived the air journey, he were to die by the road-side. ***

It was a lonely stretch of highway leading south toward Karach. Let all the let of the arraying to be referee, "need forting who west about their business, not knowing that their Quaid, who had given them a horinland was in their midst fying helpless Cars honked their way past, buses and trucks rumbled by, and we stood there immobilized in an quabit aree that refused to move an inch. . We waited for river one hour such no hour, in my the has been so long and full of augustl. "**

The trop from the amort to the government house took half as many as the enter flight from Quetta. They reached the governor-general's mansion at 6.10 at. He supplied about two books. Future noted "they are opened his eyes and ... whispered, "Fati, ...," His head dropped slightly to the right as eyes closed. I ran out of the room ... and Doctor doctor Come quarkly. My brother a doing Where are the doctors? In a few common they were these examining him and giving him spectrons. I should have most or less, specificates. Then I saw these cover has both head to toot with the sheet..., and functed on the floor."

Quadi. Azam Jiman died at 10.20 nat on September 11, 948. An that remained of him weighed on a serie do nou is. Wrapped at a since of four in him he was him each of many that in his many a handsome case of another text of mix mark of one stands himstog the remains of one of his tory's most remarkable, tenacious, enigmatic figures.

For the Jibban, who inherites most of her brothers extate remained in Passsin rill how death on July 9, 1967. In 1969-2003 The Modern Milosoft (Mother of the Nation). The of closes there be the solition between systems of the Passin against Field Mests. As it is a fill, rain a stigmous campaign as the canadate for As his kindred opposite individually approximate the canadate for As his kindred opposite individual company. It climates the canadate for As his kindred opposite individual company. It climates the observate checkers after that show it is the deer focus as Leading at the observate checkers. After that show it is the deer focus as Leading to the servate of the servate of the servate checkers.

Jimah's daughter Dina never joined her father in Pakistan while is lived; she came to Karachi only for his funeral. When Dina married Never abuses a far as Sir Dosshaw Petr, and with an Jameshaw Petr, and with an Jameshaw Vetr, and with an Jameshaw Vetr, and with an Jameshaw Vetr recalled "Jimah, in his usual imperious manner told her that there were military of Mission may be India and she could have about the chorenther the roung ady who was note than a usual for the ather is in Father there were military so Mission and the same and the married and through the vide correspond here were married and through the vide correspond here.

Dina and Neville Words kept house in Bouday and had two chilbs soon after which they separated. Neville, who presided over the Wascommercus and text to empire there, passed control of his human on the

his son Nusli, who chairs the board of Wadia Industries, Ltd. and has two sons Jinnah's only free grandetslidren who are in Bombay as elizens of India. Dina and Neville had a daughter as well, who apparently lives in Manhattan as something of a "recluse" but was "too young to remember [Jamah" and saw little on Imma according to her father Nev lie Wadia left India after divers. Dina loosing to reside a Switzerland Dina moved to New York Cat and leed alone in a spreaded apartment on Midson Avenue until at least 1982. Thus, none of Jinnah's direct descendants ever opted for Pakistan.

Notes

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This song appears in Bunkim Chandra Chatterif's novel "Anandamatha" but it . . . was written independently of, and long before the novel, and was subsequently . set to music by Rahindranath Tagore in 1896. The song and the words "Bande Mutaram" were considered seditions by the British Covernment At a famous session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Barisal in April 1906 , , a brutal lathi charge was made by the police up the delegates and volunteers and the Bance Mataram" badges worn by them were violently tern off. . . The words "Bande Mataram" became a slogue of power which inspired our people,

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